ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARY
Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXVIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19, 1929 No. 3337

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 725
EDITORIALS:
The Liquidation of the War 728
Which Law? 729
The Labor Cabinet 729
Mr. Mellon's Bad Bill 730
IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN 731
THE MONEY MARKET. By Henry Hall 732
DIVORCE IN RUSSIA AND AMERICA. By Julius Holzberg 734
AIMEE SEMPLE McPHERSON. By Julia N. Budlong 737
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 739
CORRESPONDENCE 740
BOOKS:
Grace Before Eating. By Virginia Moore 741
Elinor Wylie's Leavetaking. By Ridgely Torrence 741
Endurance. By Joseph Wood Krutch 741
America in the Philippines. By Raymond Leslie Buell 742
The Enigma of Freedom. By William Seagle 743
News from Russia. By Jessica Smith 744
A Southern Yankee. By Herbert Solow 744
Editorializers. By Duane Squires 745
Books in Brief 746
Corrections 746
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
India Revisited. By Sudhindra Bose 748
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 749

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
Associate Editors
ARTHUR WARNER
DOROTHY VAN DOREN PAUL BLANSHARD
Dramatic Editor Literary Editor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH FREDA KIRCHWEY
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager
Address all editorial communications to the "Managing Editor."

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: NATION, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 34, Clifton Gardens, W. 9, London, England.

THE NATION is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

IF THE NEW BRITISH Prime Minister really comes to Washington during the summer vacation of Parliament to talk over Anglo-American relations with Herbert Hoover it will be a remarkable event, and one full of wonderful promise. It is, of course, a commonplace when a British premier crosses the Channel to meet Briand or Stresemann, for the small distances in Europe make possible quick contacts between British and Continental statesmen. But this would be the first time that a Prime Minister crossed the Atlantic to meet the head of the American state. Far more important than that is the fact that the visitor is an avowed pacifist determined above all else to remove every possible cause for friction between the United States and his country. If substantial disarmament should not come out of that we should be surprised indeed. Especially does this plan commend itself to us because the negotiation would be between a Prime Minister and President without the presence, we take it, of any admirals whatsoever to interfere—with their tiresome and stupid haggling over details of armaments and tonnage. It would be a glorious opportunity for both men to do what is suggested in England—extend the unfortified Canadian frontier across the Atlantic.

HYSTERIA AND HATE rule Gastonia, North Carolina, where a chief of police is dead, sixty-five strikers and sympathizers are in prison charged with assault and complicity in his murder, and only the persuasiveness of local officers has saved the Communist leaders of the strike from being lynched. The killing of the chief of police, O. F. Adderholt, was a tragic and indefensible act which brought instant and undiscriminating vengeance upon all the strikers. Evicted from the houses of the Manville-Jenckes Company, the cotton-mill strikers had moved to a tent colony on the edge of Gastonia, where they held daily meetings and lived on strike-relief funds from the North. On the night of June 7 the police, hearing reports of a fight in the colony between two strikers, invaded the tent village, where they were met by the armed guards of the strikers who had been posted to protect the union's property ever since the citizens' raid of April 18, in which the union headquarters and relief-store were demolished. In the fight which ensued four police officers were struck with bird shot fired by strikers, and Adderholt was so seriously injured that he died the next day. Although only one man was identified as an assailant, sixty-five strikers and leaders were immediately thrown into prison. So bitter is the feeling of the community against the strike leaders that Gastonia may well take its place with Centralia as one of the tragic names of American labor history.

THE COMMUNISTS are being blamed for the whole affair, and the Gastonia *Gazette* stops just short of openly advocating lynching:

> The blood of these men [the police] cries out to high heaven for vengeance. This community has been too lenient with these despicable curs and snakes from the dives of Passaic, Hoboken, and New York. . . . This display of gang law must not go unavenged.

Certainly the Communist leaders were foolhardy in attempting to maintain a colony of strikers at a white heat of enthusiasm weeks after the strike had been lost when there was scarcely any legal outlet for their enthusiasm, but the bitterness which finally led to the murder of the police chief is directly traceable to the kind of treatment the strikers had received from the police and militia during the entire trouble, for the strikers were beaten and frequently arrested on the most flimsy pretexts. When their headquarters were demolished by a masked gang of 100 to 200 men, not a single member of the attacking party was held by the police, while the strikers who were sleeping in the union building when it was attacked were promptly arrested. In fact the strikers in both Gastonia and Elizabethton have had a dangerous lesson in the injustice of established authority. In Tennessee, according to the admission of Secretary of War Good, federal machine-guns and uniforms were used illegally by State police during the recent rayon strikes. In Washington Senator Wheeler is using these facts effectively in underscoring his demand for a thorough investigation of the abuses of the textile industry. Meanwhile, in South Carolina cotton mills a new series of unorganized strikes has broken out against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the stretch-out system, and union organizers from the American Federation of Labor are winning hundreds of recruits.

A SENSATIONAL RISE in the cost of wheat has again carried the price above one dollar to $1.05½. It was solely attributable to irresponsible rumors that the Government was buying a huge amount for the starving Chinese, that Mr. Hoover was making a special appeal to Congress for the farmers, and that the Government would use $100,000,000 to stabilize wheat prices. As a matter of fact Mr. Hoover did not appeal to Congress, the Government is not buying grain for the Chinese, and there is nothing definite about the sum, if any, to be utilized in stabilizing wheat. High authority is quoted as saying that it will "take almost a calamity to bring this year's crop down to the total of the 1928 supply"—and a calamity, however ardently it may be prayed for by the politicians, is not in sight. Meanwhile, the Hoover Administration is suffering gravely because of the existing situation, the prospect of still greater over-production later on, and the fact that the new agricultural bill affords little hope of anything else than temporary relief. Luck has certainly been against Mr. Hoover so far. He might have bluffed the farmer with his bill if the price of wheat had stayed up. Now there is slight chance of it, and the opportunity is a wonderful one to rouse the farmers to the folly of looking for relief to a huge bureaucratic machinery, and to a higher tariff, when what is primarily needed is lower tariffs and lower freight rates.

OUR OFFICE JOKESMITH, after reading of Sir Esme Howard's decision to dispense with instead of to dispense liquor at the British Legation, suggests that they rename that august residence the "I'm Alone." Painfully alone, we surmise, not only among the other embassies and legations, but among the other august residences of Washington regardless of their diplomatic status. In the diplomatic corps Sir Esme must be about as popular as a man on shipboard with Asiatic cholera. Of course the British Ambassador has a right to renounce the Demon Rum if he wishes to, and he is said to have conceived of the gesture as one of good-will toward America. But Sir Esme ought to know that to drink or not to drink is the most controversial question in America today, and in taking a stand on the issue he is likely to be accused of meddling in a domestic question in the country to which he is accredited—the highest crime a diplomat can commit. And while Washington enjoys, or squirms at, this little sideshow, prohibition agents are shooting and killing with the cold-blooded abandon that seems to have become almost their habit. Henry Virkula, a merchant, was shot to death near International Falls, Minnesota, on June 8 by border patrolmen in the prohibition service. His wife, who was in an automobile with him and two children at the time, said her husband was killed without a chance to stop, the car having gone little more than ten feet after the command to halt. County police, after investigating, said no liquor was found in the car.

THE VIRGINIA PRIMARY LAW, by which Negroes were prohibited from voting in the Democratic primaries and hence were virtually disfranchised in that State, has just been declared unconstitutional by Federal Judge D. Lawrence Groner. Two years ago the United States Supreme Court made the same decision in the ca of the Texas primary law. And in spite of this rulin doubtless the Virginia decision will be appealed and wi ultimately reach the same august tribunal. Such is the u reality of our legal system. Everybody knows that prima laws like that of Virginia are contrary to the spirit of t Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitutio By now everybody should be aware that sooner or later the will be formally pronounced unconstitutional and invali But Negroes must be disfranchised in the South. If gran father clauses are out-of-date, if educational qualificatio no longer bar them, if property or poll taxes will not kee them from the polls, then people try something like the pr mary law. In the old days a frown or at most a shove wa enough to send packing any Negro with sufficient effronte to approach the sacred symbol of democratic governmen When laws became necessary they were found; now eve laws are of no avail. The professional Southerners wi have to think of something else. And while they are thin ing the number of Republican votes is going up every yea

THE WELL-KNOWN FACT that passion mak men commit rash acts was magnificently demonstrate by a recent editorial in the Paris *Herald* which assumed, it did not flatly assert, that "The Letters of Sacco and Var zetti" were doctored or forged. The editorial deplored th continued efforts of certain "publicists" to keep alive th issues involved in the trial and execution of "two men wh after the most exhaustive judicial proceeding, were con victed of robbing with wilful murder and were put t death." About the book in question the editorial said:

> A new impulse has been given to this movement by the publication of what purports to be letters written by the condemned men in prison. How far these documents have been dressed up or perhaps even forged by persons interested in drawing from them either moral or money profit can only be surmised. . . .

This sort of talk is not mere scurrilous insinuation; it is th talk of men whose prejudices blind them to facts and to thei own interests. The Viking Press, which published "Th Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti," has joined with Mario Denman Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson, editors of th volume, in a suit against the owners of the Paris *Herald* (the New York Herald Company Société Anonyme Fran çaise and New York Tribune, Inc.). The authenticity o the letters is beyond question, even if the names of the plain tiffs were not themselves evidence of good faith. Reaction aries in recent years have fallen into a habit of too casuall libeling and assaulting liberals and radicals. We hope th prompt action of the Viking Press and its co-plaintiffs wil help check this practice by winning a clear verdict agains the authors of a particularly gross and imprudent insult.

THE DISAPPEARANCE of the *Dial* with its issu for July will leave a greater gap in the America periodical field than most readers probably now recognize The way to estimate how much a magazine will be misse is to consider whether among its survivors there are publica tions which will do all it did, and print all it printed. Th answer in the present case is obvious enough. No othe American magazine would have done itself the unique hono of printing T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land," and we can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ot think of any that will perform a corresponding service ow that the *Dial* is gone. Neither will any other magazine ive an annual prize of $2,000 to such figures as E. E. Cumings, Ezra Pound, Mr. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, nd Marianne Moore. And no weekly or monthly that we an think of will muster so brilliant a role of literary names, oth foreign and native, among its contributors. The *Dial* id all these things with an air—which finally got to be ather remarked about, and which is the reason that many eople had slipped into the habit of supposing the *Dial* to be ispensable. But its elegant, aloof, and uncompromisingly ntellectual attitude did have a special value, and undoubtdly there will be attempts to replace it.

SEVERAL SQUARE MILES of sovereign state came into being on June 7 when the treaties between Italy and he Roman Catholic church were signed by Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri, acting for the Pope. The temporal ower of the Pope, taken away in 1870, is restored, the Papal State now exists as a separate political entity, and the ead of the Roman Catholic church may, if he wishes, venure forth into the world instead of remaining a self-constituted "prisoner of the Vatican." Meanwhile the bickering etween Mussolini and the Pope continues. The Premier vas both socialist and agnostic at the beginning of his highly heckered career; when it became necessary to shift his politial course he was not unwilling; when compromise with the hurch became expedient he compromised. But even on the hreshold of a reconciliation between church and state he ittered doctrines which the Pope was quick to brand as eresy, for example, the statement that "the Christian relijion was born in Palestine and became Catholic in Rome" nd if "it had remained in Palestine it might have flickered ut like one of the many sects which flourished in that land." Nor is the dispute in regard to whether church or state shall ontrol education in Italy settled by any means. Mussolini as temporized to the extent of explaining that Fascism vishes only to control education and not instruction. The ormation of character, he declared, is to be in the hands of he state; the church is free as before to support schools for he instruction of young boys and girls. With this rather loubtful distinction the Pope has so far not quarreled, but ne can imagine it cold comfort, especially when it is accomanied by outspoken denials of the established tenets of the Catholic faith.

ALTHOUGH THE NEW EMPEROR of Japan plays tennis and works in a modern laboratory, he is till ruling an empire which uses medieval methods in suppressing discussion of "radical thought" among students and vorkers. The Tokyo *Trans-Pacific* estimates that 2,000 ersons have been arrested during the past year for alleged adical activities and that 40 per cent of them have been tudents. When the Government discovered that training in ocial science impaired the loyalty of Japanese schoolboys vho were compelled to take military training, it abolished ll social-science courses in high schools and schools of lower rade. Not satisfied with these measures the Tanaka adminstration created a special anti-Red police force and raised he penalty for subversive activities from ten years in prison o death. But the agitation for a new social order still goes n, especially among university students who have become familiar with the Russian revolution and the program of the British Labor Party. Japan's two old parties, the Seiyukai and the Minseito, have been roundly denounced as corrupt and venal by the two leading national dailies, the Osaka *Mainichi* and the Tokyo *Asahi*. A progressive third party with an advanced labor program has been formed to unite all groups which have not been suppressed by the Government, but meanwhile the life of a Japanese radical is a perilous journey. Yamamoto, the leading revolutionary member of Parliament, was assassinated last March in a manner strangely reminiscent of the Matteotti murder, and his slayer is yet to be punished.

OUR SYMPATHIES GO OUT to our confreres of the London *Nation and Athenaeum*. Excited by its ardent hopes of a revival of the Liberal Party in England, it wrote with true editorial assurance in its issue just prior to the general election: "The appeal of the Labor Party has become a trifle indistinct. . . . Rich though the Labor Party is in enthusiastic support, its propaganda has lost something of its old poignancy. Labor will win many seats next week; but the tide of opinion is running now, and is likely to continue to run, in a Liberal rather than in a Labor direction." Which is doubtless the exact reason why the following week the British electorate rolled up such a magnificent vote for Labor as to make Ramsay MacDonald Prime Minister and once more relegated the Liberals to the rear. Worse than that in another leader it wrote: "The Liberal revival is the outstanding fact of the election. . . . Apart from the seats which are to be contested by Liberal sitting members, the Liberal Party should make a beginning of its task of returning to effective power by winning the following hundred constituencies"—thereupon it listed the hundred men and women that the Liberals were bound to elect. The country responded nobly, defeated some Liberals already sitting, and actually elected seventeen more members all told than the party had in the last election. All the rest of the gallant hundred went down to ignoble defeat. But in one respect the *Nation* scored. It declared: "Nothing is certain except that there will be surprises."

WITHIN A FEW MONTHS the chug-chug of the flivver will be heard in Russia, from Moscow to the Caucasus. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is to have, within nine years, $30,000,000 worth of Ford cars, paid for no doubt on the instalment plan. Mr. Ford has signed the contract. He has, moreover, agreed to the erection of a factory at Nizhni Novgorod, on the banks of the Volga, which will produce 100,000 trucks and automobiles a year; and he will pass on to the Soviets any new ideas, innovations, or inventions that may be incorporated in Ford cars constructed in America during the life of the contract. What is more important, $150,000,000 is to be spent on roads for these new cars. That means good roads, for while the doughty Model T could clear a high center with the insouciance of a Russian wolf-hound, the new Ford is swung as low as any Rolls-Royce. Other manufacturers of cars in America will not be slow to use these roads into new "unsaturated" fields. And when the countryside resounds with the baying of American automobile horns, who will care whether or not Moscow recognizes Washington? A touch of tire trouble makes the whole world kin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Liquidation of the War

POLITICALLY speaking, the World War ended with the Treaty of Versailles ten years ago; financially considered, the liquidation of the conflict has only now been definitely adjusted. Perhaps it is too much to say that the financial obligations of the war have even now been arranged, but at least the only important issues outstanding are the settlement of the French debt to the United States and an agreement between Germany and Belgium in regard to payment for the debasement of the Belgian currency during the war. Fortunately both these issues seem destined to be settled shortly in consequence of the agreement on the fundamental question of German reparations to the Allies.

We should be thankful and encouraged that this great problem of reparations has been settled in as little as ten years, for post-war hates and reprisals have died slowly. When one considers the fiery threats and demands which Raymond Poincaré and most of France were making for several years after the war, it is a tribute to the common-sense of the French and their normal love of peace that their delegates have finally accepted the terms just worked out in Paris. Likewise, when one reflects on the misery and bitterness of the Germans after the occupation of the Ruhr and the collapse of their currency, it is nothing less than a marvel that they have maintained their equilibrium and are now undertaking to underwrite peace in Europe by assuming a gigantic share of the war bill. Of course, ratification of the Paris agreement by the parliaments of the various nations concerned is still necessary, but successful opposition is unlikely. The German Government was wise in sending to Paris as its chief negotiator Herr Schacht, for the head of the Reichsbank belongs to the conservative wing of German politics, and his acceptance of the Young plan has presumably spiked the guns of factions which might otherwise have made trouble. In France the immediate political situation has greatly favored a conciliatory attitude throughout the negotiations and seems to assure acceptance of the terms. France is faced with the payment of an uncomfortable bill on August 1—$400,000,000 due to the United States for army supplies bought after the end of hostilities. But if the Mellon-Bérenger funding plan is accepted by France, the immediate debt will be merged with the larger amounts borrowed during the war and payments on the total will be made over a period of years. Premier Poincaré has been wanting to get the Mellon-Bérenger plan through Parliament, but his only practical hope of doing so lay in first obtaining a definite settlement of German reparations.

So far as the settlement itself goes, as we remarked last week, nobody is wise enough to say whether Germany is assessed too much or too little. Neither can anybody determine at this time whether she can make the proposed payments. The high recuperative power which she has shown in the last ten years suggests an affirmative answer, but the question of the transfer of payments may become an obstacle even if Germany is otherwise capable of carrying out the plan agreed upon. Anyhow the annuities under the new arrangement are less than under the Dawes plan and are limited to a fixed—though long—period of years. The Dawes plan called for annuities of $600,000,000, with u certainty as to when they were to end. The Young pl calls for annuities averaging $492,000,000 for thirty-sev years, and then for annuities averaging $408,000,000 to t fifty-ninth year, when all payments cease. Obviously, the is an immediate advantage for Germany in the Young pla and there is every reason to believe that the present arrang ment will be modified in her favor before the end of t period now set. About two-thirds of the sum called f under the Young plan is destined for the United States payment of the Allied debts, and all payments after t thirty-seventh year are calculated for that purpose. As v said last week, we do not believe that future generations our people will want to exact such tribute.

With the adoption of the new program, all the machi ery of the Dawes plan will go by the board; also the Rep ration Commission will cease to exist. The Transfer Co mission will be superseded by the new Bank for Intern tional Payments, and the excellent Agent General for Rep rations, S. Parker Gilbert, will be out of a job. We ha no doubt, though, that a high post in the Bank of Intern tional Payments awaits him if he wants it.

Americans may well be proud of what their fello citizens, acting unofficially, have done in the present settl ment—especially of the efforts of Owen D. Young, who chairman of the conference saved it time and again fro disaster. On the other hand, Americans have no reason all to be proud of the role of their government. Offici Washington has clung to the ridiculous fiction that the can be no connection between German reparations and Allie debts to us. Fortunately our unofficial delegates in Pa held to no such absurd doctrine, and the Young plan reco nizes the complete interrelation of the two problems. A signs suggest that official Washington will have to begin talk sense soon, however. Under the present fundi schemes Great Britain is the only country which is unde taking to pay back anything like its actual debt to the Unite States. The MacDonald Government will undoubtedly d mand a reopening of the debt accord in order that Gre Britain may be placed more nearly on an equality with oth debtors. In the course of a comparatively short time v think the United States will realize that from both a ethical and a business standpoint our attempt to squee every possible drop of blood out of Europe is a mistak In the face of the generous proposal of the Allies to evacua the Rhineland, the United States ought to do something, to in the cause of world peace. The financial costs of t World War have finally been distributed as between Ge many and the Allies. No better work for peace could done by the United States than by scaling down to the mo nominal sums its claims against Europe.

In reply to the question "Who won the World War somebody once answered "Who won the San Francisco eart quake?" The agreement at Paris recognizes that mode war is everybody's loss and nobody's gain. The sooner ar more equally those losses are accepted by all—America i cluded—the better.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Which Law?

PRESIDENT HOOVER has explained to us the necessity of respecting the law, but every day it is getting more difficult to do so. Let us take, for xample, the question of the books which the conscientious tizen can permit himself to buy and read. He has, per-aps, by now got accustomed to the fact that the purchase certain volumes, which he could acquire with perfect ropriety in New York or Dubuque, would make a danger-us scofflaw out of him in Boston. But it has just been rought to his attention that certain other volumes which en the most respectable bookseller in the Hub might gally sell him become criminal possessions if carried with m as he returns home from abroad, since the customs offi-rs have their own extensive black list and since it does ot, of course, correspond with that which either the courts the Watch and Ward Society have compiled.

This custom-house black list, which is theoretically con-dential, has just been made public in the course of a fight er the exclusion of Voltaire's "Candide"—a work not only mmonly assigned as reading in college French courses but r a number of years readily obtainable in the popular Iodern Library. Along with it are Rousseau's "Confes-ons," Boccaccio's "Decameron," and "The Arabian ights," all of which are also freely sold in New York; but rhaps the most absurd of all is the inclusion of Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin" which happens to have been de-ared innocuous by a court some years ago.

Which law shall our conscientious citizen respect as ell as obey? Shall he revere the decision of a grave judge a superior court or conclude that since the latest regula-on must be sacred the grave judge was guilty of a moral xity which a customs officer now happily corrects? He n hardly be impressed with the majesty of both, and rely those who are working in the interests of purity ould be wiser to make some little effort to agree among emselves. They are perpetually endeavoring to convince that the definition of obscenity is only a matter of simple mmon-sense upon which all clean-minded people are at ie, but every time two groups of clean and simple-minded ople consider an identical problem they come to two differ-t conclusions.

Congress, however, is apparently convinced that we ve not even now a sufficient number of overlapping author-es, or a sufficient number of repressive laws designed to st the citizens' capacity for respect, for it is considering, in ction 305 of the Hawley tariff bill, a measure which em-wers the customs officers to keep out of the United States y book or pamphlet of a seditious character. Professor echariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School thinks at, if applied in the spirit which the customs officers have ready exhibited, this would mean the Harvard library ould have to abandon its efforts to collect material con-rning the Russian Revolution, that the works of Marx, roudhon, or Stirner could not be imported, and that a izen returning with a copy of Rousseau's "Confessions" his pocket would be liable to a fine of $5,000 and im-isonment for two years. Of course, the Supreme Court the United States is itself divided on the subject of what constitutes sedition, but the present bill would establish the power of the customs officers to decide and thus make the snap judgment of that service final in a matter which the supreme judicial authority of the land has been unable to settle. Nor is the manifest monstrosity of the measure by any means certain to kill it, since Chairman Hawley has stated that all the Republican members of the committee which framed his act were in favor of this particular section.

The time is rapidly approaching when the problem of enforcing the literary censorship will be as complicated as the problem of enforcing prohibition. Doubtless Canada will be asked to cooperate in suppressing the trade in illegal printed matter at its source. Returning citizens will be searched for books as well as liquor, and in time the services of the Coast Guard will be enlisted to harass the members of literary row just outside the twelve-mile limit. But what about the rights of search and seizure and of hot pursuit on the high seas? Perhaps by that time all the foolish constitutional protections which now hinder the officers in the prosecution of their task will have been forgotten as a result of the rapidly growing Respect for Law. In any event we are anticipating the day when headlines like these will be common: "Four Book Killings Saturday Night." "Woman in Michigan Gets Life for Pint-Sized Edition of Rousseau."

But, maybe we are wrong. Perhaps people won't resist when knowledge is taken away from them.

The Labor Cabinet

IT is a goodly company of men and women that Ramsay MacDonald has gathered into Great Britain's second Labor Cabinet, so responsible, so intelligent that the old Tory jibe, "Labor is not fit to govern," is revealed as absurd. From Mr. MacDonald himself to Sir Oswald Mosley there is not an appointee of less than cabinet stature. Misfits there may be. Tom Shaw as Secretary of State for War seems slightly grotesque, although no one would dispute his right to the position he held in the last Labor Cabinet as Minister of Labor; and heavy-footed, honest Arthur Henderson might well have gone back to his old post as Home Secretary. The *Manchester Guardian* expresses the doubts of many people concerning Mr. Henderson's dexterity as the British Empire's leading diplomat when it says: "His chief qualification is massive integrity, but his friends do not claim for him any subtlety of mind or profundity of understanding." But whatever Mr. Henderson's shortcomings may be, it is likely that Mr. MacDonald himself will keep close supervision over foreign affairs and the Prime Minister's record in that respect is sufficiently distinguished to quiet any misgivings.

What a plenitude of loyalty and brains the Labor Party can command! Snowden for the Exchequer, Sankey for Lord Chancellor, Sidney Webb for the Colonies, Greenwood for Health—these men would grace any cabinet. And not the least of them is Great Britain's first woman cabinet member, Margaret Bondfield, whose dramatic career as shop-girl, union organizer, and member of Parliament is a new kind of Cinderella fairy tale. It is a pity that President Hoover allowed Mr. MacDonald to be the first to break the all-male tradition of cabinet appointments.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is obvious that the new Labor Government, with less than a majority in the House of Commons, must concentrate on projects which will command some Liberal support—and the foremost of these is unemployment. Even before he took office Mr. MacDonald had announced the formation of an inner economic cabinet headed by J. H. Thomas to redeem the Labor Party's election pledge by a nation-wide program of unemployment relief and economic reconstruction. For this particular task Mr. Thomas is a happy choice. Vain and showy, he yet has the virtue of commanding the confidence of Britain's business leaders and at the same time the allegiance of millions of workingmen. He is probably the least socialistic of all the veteran leaders of the Labor Party, and his recognized conservatism will be an aid in the task of business reorganization, which depends so largely upon conservative support. If unemployment must be relieved within the framework of the present business system and with the cooperation of anti-socialists, then Mr. Thomas is the logical man to make the attempt.

Of all the new Ministers only the veteran George Lansbury, one of the noblest and most lofty minded of Englishmen, will satisfy the demands of the left wing of the Labor Party for a representative of its view, and even he, in recent years, has moved steadily to the right. The infinitesimal Communist vote in the last election and the overwhelming defeat of left-wing proposals in recent Labor congresses have evidently influenced Mr. MacDonald in his choices.

Rightly the American press has called the new Labor Ministry "a Peace Cabinet." Here are men and women who have lived and talked peace almost all their lives, and many of them have vowed in no circmstances ever to go to war. They are coming into power at a time when the British public is weary of the race for bigger and bloodier engines of death.

Mr. Mellon's Bad Bill

MR. MELLON'S Treasury Department has just engineered through the House of Representatives a most objectionable bill and a committee of the Senate has recommended it for passage by that body. If adopted the measure will permit the Treasury to exempt completely from taxation—from surtaxes as well as from normal income taxes—short-term Treasury bills and future issues of certificates of indebtedness. One can easily imagine the jubilation among the wealthy who have been fattening their incomes through tax-free municipal and State bonds when they learn that Federal investments, too, are to be their dish, served up according to Secretary Mellon's choice recipe. Before the Senate votes on the bill, however, it is important that it, as well as the general public, should be aware of what is happening and that the principles at stake are not obscured because of the form in which the legislation has been presented.

Ostensibly the measure would authorize the Treasury to issue short-term Treasury bills on a discount basis rather than on an interest basis—a technical financial change. But in the bill there is also the extraneous and objectionable clause concerning tax exemption. The two objects are unrelated and should be considered separately upon their ind vidual merits. The tax-exemption feature—which has wh seems an incidental or subsidiary place in the bill itself—in reality by far the most important from the standpoi of economic and social consequences. A proposal of th kind, involving a complete change in the nation's tax polic should be adequately and openly debated. And certainly should never become law covertly or by indirection.

The step would mean a complete about-face in Treasu policy. Even when the United States was financing its g gantic needs in the World War the Treasury rejected th policy of tax exemptions. It is true that the first Libert Loan bonds were put out with a coupon rate of 3½ pe cent, exempt from all taxes, as were some of the 3¾ pe cent notes of the Victory Loan issue. But the mistake wa quickly seen in each instance, so that not more than abou $2,000,000,000 out of approximately $25,000,000,000 wort of federal obligations issued during the war were favore with exemption from any but normal taxes. All the exper ence of our government since has justified its course, an there can be little doubt that public opinion is strongly op posed to the idea of a privileged, tax-exempt class amon our wealthy citizens. For the Treasury, therefore, to dis regard its commendable record and now adopt a practic which it rejected in war time as unsatisfactory and repug nant to American principles seems extremely unwise and ill considered—particularly if it is done without a fair oppor tunity for discussion. The procedure seems reactionary an undesirable even to the *Commercial and Financial Chron cle,* a most conservative organ, which calls attention in it issue of June 1 to the fact that Secretary Mellon "has bee openly advocating the step backward for some time, and ha lost no opportunity to secure full exemption where Congres could be beguiled into taking the step."

In 1924 Mr. Mellon himself stated that tax-free se curities were a mistake and that the $12,000,000,000 the outstanding presented a serious problem. He advocated tha States and their subdivisions should be prohibited from is suing any more in the future. But now in 1929, with pos sibly eight billion additional tax-free securities out, Mr Mellon reverses his position and suggests that fifteen o twenty billion dollars of United States obligations be mad tax exempt! That this is the course charted for the Treas ury seems obvious, for as the various bonds and certificate of indebtedness of the United States mature they will b taken up with the proceeds of new issues, and Secretary Mel lon is already on record for full tax exemption on "furthe issues of securities."

The direct result of this policy to the government it self would be reduced returns from the income tax. Fo nothing should obscure the fundamental point that a gradu ated income tax and tax-free securities are contradictory i purpose. In view of this, perhaps it is not so strange t find a man unsympathetic with the former sponsoring a increase in the latter. It is a quiet and clever way of stab bing in the back the progressive features of our income-ta policy. How appropriate in this connection is the prophec of Henry Raymond Mussey in *The Nation* of May 28, 1924 that "When the day unhappily arrives for Secretary Mel lon's grateful fellow-countrymen to erect a monument in hi honor, they will undoubtedly carve a surtax on its east fac and a tax-exempt security on its west."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Seems to Heywood Broun

AMERICAN pacifists don't fight hard enough. It is a mistake to assume that all who favor peace at any price are humble folk who shudder at even the vio- ence of verbal controversy. However, it cannot readily be enied that too much humility has been mixed up in the rive against war. Organizations have been inclined to beg or peace when as a matter of fact they should demand it. The monstrous Supreme Court decision which denied citi- enship to Rosika Schwimmer has aroused all too little pro- est. And while it is impossible to override the decision of ie august body, pressure can be brought upon the President o make new appointments only from the ranks of those who re sincere lovers of universal peace. Some little ground has een gained. Even the most ardent militarist hesitates to roclaim an enthusiasm for war as a beneficial human ctivity. Instead there is much beating the devil around the ump with pious lamentations of the fact that mankind is ill belligerent and that unfortunately the time probably ill come when it will be necessary for the millions to spring o arms again. The jingoes of America are not the most gical people in the land, for with one breath they proudly roclaim that the United States can lick all the world with s left hand and next we find these same gentlemen urging ie necessity of vast expenditure for our protection.

One of the distinct barriers to world peace is this same vaggering tendency which has been so rampant here since ie war. Orators are not content merely to tell us that we re rich, brave, and virtuous. They must needs go on to xplain that no other nation is one-tenth so fortunate in its ore of these same blessings. Surely naval accord with Eng- nd was not much furthered by a recent cartoon from the en of the widely syndicated Ding. Uncle Sam was repre- nted as a poker player with all the chips in the game. His eak and pitiful opponents were pictured as desiring a uce in cruiser building simply because they were no longer ipable of competing with the affluent old gentleman. But hen and if we reach an agreement as to much more radical aval curtailment we shall be in no position to maintain iat this thing we did solely out of the goodness of our eart. We are not too rich to feel the easement of lighter ardens. War can be just as tragic to America as to any her country.

And I could wish that more emphasis could be put upon e practical nature of peace proposals. Pacifists ought to ork against the notion that non-resistance is a fad of poets, ints, and some preachers of broad vision. I am not pre- ired to deny that there are comforting words to be drawn om the Gospels, and yet it is not sufficient to found the ace movement wholly upon the teachings of Jesus Christ. ndeniably the underlying philosophy of the Nazarene de- ands an invincible adherence to peace, but unfortunately e Bible contains a wide assortment of texts and fighting rases can be found even in the recorded words of Jesus. loreover, we have reason to know that whatever primitive hristianity may demand in the way of conduct the churches ver have much difficulty in finding some interpretation to stify a "defensive war" or "a righteous conflict."

The support and cooperation of the churches should be eagerly welcomed at the present time, but the peace party cannot prevail merely as a dogmatic movement. The noblest works of man are generally illuminated by enlight- ened self-interest. Partisans for peace make a mistake if they present themselves as prophets whose eyes are fixed wholly upon the heavens. After all anybody who can see as far as the end of his nose ought to be able to realize that modern warfare is a game calculated to end with all con- cerned as losers. No other field of human activity estab- lishes a more voracious kitty. And so when we go into conference with foreign Powers I hope that the tone will be that of sensible men sitting down together working for the very selfish and proper end of prosperity and happiness.

Nor is there any reason why a passion for peace should be labeled as red and radical. Here at last is a world policy very largely devoted to the interests of the middle-class. The much lambasted bourgeoisie contains the folk who feel the hardest blows in any conflict. It is the middle-class which makes the greatest contribution in blood and dollars. And yet I am not sympathetic to the notion that wars are arranged by great financiers pulling wires in back rooms. It would be folly to deny that commercial rivalries make for friction, but according to my conception of modern economics international financiers have increasingly less to gain from warfare. It would be entirely logical and according to the dictates of self-interest for Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rocke- feller to come out boldly for a complete and uncompromis- ing pacifism. I will admit that neither one is likely to do so, but this is more a matter of temperament than economic determinism.

The causes of war are manifold and intricate. Obvi- ously when a conflict comes the immediate issue is more or less irrelevant. We did not truly fight Spain in order to remember the Maine nor was the war with Germany founded wholly on the Lusitania and other submarine activi- ties. I suppose that the most fertile cause of war is patriot- ism. Naturally I wish to qualify and define the word. Patriotism can and should be a far wider and deeper emotion than the lip service imposed on school-children. If any American ever devised a more harmful slogan than "My country right or wrong" I have not heard it. It is, of course, the duty of every citizen to be enormously critical of his own government. The truest patriot is the man who sets the highest standard of conduct for the government under which he lives. Nobody would consider it friendship to allow an individual to embark upon obviously anti-social conduct, and we have every right to insist upon good behavior on the part of Uncle Sam.

I think the schools err in not emphasizing sufficiently the fact that we are the United States. So much emphasis is put upon the flag, the Constitution, the honored dead, and other symbols that many a child loses sight of the fact that he himself is a director of America's destinies. In preaching to the citizen of what he owes his country he should not be allowed to forget that his country can also be in debt to him.

HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Money Market

By HENRY HALL

WHEN a technical subject has been a matter of controversy over a period of months it is inevitable that a touch of absurdity should enter the discussions, even on the part of those who term themselves experts. For four months and with growing intensity the money market has been a subject of daily discussion, with bank presidents, stock brokers, economists, government officials, and men in the street expressing views often heated, often at variance with one another, and often silly in the extreme. There was a time when discussions of the money market were confined to the financial columns of the daily newspapers; until early in 1929 the Federal Reserve's rate of discount was a matter of concern only to member banks that had commercial paper to rediscount or that were temporarily borrowing against United States government bonds. Discussions now take place everywhere, even on the radio; money rates are front-page news and are given major head lines.

For the most part, this is because money rates by moving up have been blamed for sending stocks down. After a prolonged orgy of Wall Street speculation and large profits in which the public came to regard the stock market as a source of easy and great wealth, there has come an awakening to the fact that the stock market is also a place where fortunes take wings and where profits can be converted into substantial losses. By comparing current prices on the New York Stock Exchange with those of the early part of the year, it will be seen that the decline, after last year's prolonged advance, has been severe indeed. Losses in prominent Wall Street stocks range all the way from 17 to 60 points; issues like United States Steel common, General Motors, Radio, Columbia Graphaphone, General Electric, and Kennecott, which were among the greater favorites of the extravagant earlier speculations, are all down 20 to 30 points from their price ten weeks ago. On the curb market and among the so-called "unlisted" securities where booms corresponding to that on the Stock Exchange had occurred, losses of large extent are shown. For May alone, according to the statistical compilation of the New York *Times,* the paper value of 240 representative securities shrank three billion dollars.

Not willing to blame its own excesses in carrying the stock-market movement too far, the public that was trading on margin has generally concentrated its wrath on the Federal Reserve Board at Washington, which has gained the name of lecturing stocks into their collapse. Comprising a group of eight men, none of them having any direct responsibility under the law to control stock speculation, the board has nevertheless on several occasions issued warning statements and threatened dire punishment for those who disobeyed them.

It is regarding the propriety of the Federal Reserve's lectures that comments have gone to the utmost extreme, though during the past fortnight some of those whose wrath was concentrated on the Reserve Board have wavered a bit in their whole-souled denunciation, as other factors opposed to advancing stock prices made themselves apparent. It is nevertheless true that the Reserve Board "started things" and brought criticism down on its own head by declaring open war on extravagant speculation. Last year the board came to a conclusion that credit advanced by the banks against securities was too great; brokers' loans, by advancing rapidly, had absorbed much of the credit that was readily available. The base of that credit had been curtailed by gold exports, and the board decided that it would exercise every conceivable means short of actual change in the official rediscount rates to bring matters into what it considered to be a proper line. In spite of a curtailment of its accommodations the boom carried on, however, with outside interest rates growing steadily firmer. Then, in a statement made public on February 7, the board openly and formally announced itself in opposition to what it termed "the extraordinary absorption of funds in speculative security loans" and advised national banks and other institutions which are members of the Reserve System that it would oppose any further extension of its rediscount facilities if the funds sought by the banks were to be used to feed the speculative movement.

About that time the brokers' loans reported by the New York Stock Exchange had reached a record elevation close to the seven-billion-dollar mark, and other loans by banks on securities, unreported, were recognized to be at peak figures. It is general knowledge that the Federal Reserve System does not make loans against railroad or industrial securities, but the movement to high-price records on the Stock Exchange nevertheless had been fed by Federal Reserve accommodation, member banks depositing government bonds or available commercial paper as collateral to secure the accommodation, and then making the resultant funds available to customers intent on purchasing securities for the rise. Thus it was the board felt that the Reserve facilities were being improperly used, and found itself impelled to state that in its judgment the speculative movement deserved particular attention "lest it become a decisive factor working toward still further firming of money rates to the prejudice of the country's commercial interests."

From the appearance of the February statement, events followed in rapid succession to fix the responsibility for the deflation of stock prices, whether justifiably or not, on the Washington group. In the closing week of March the call-loan rate in Wall Street mounted suddenly, and for a short time during one afternoon of that week loans for securities were unavailable in the regular call-loan channels. Complying with the Reserve Board's injunctions, individual banks had been making efforts to reduce their borrowing at the Reserve banks, and were bent on reducing their collateral loans. With funds temporarily unavailable, terrified traders, on the afternoon in question, dumped their securities on the market in one of the most excited trading days ever seen, and panic was only allayed by the action of certain banks, which in the emergency advanced funds in large amounts. Charles E. Mitchell, head of the National City Bank of New York, issued a statement at the time defending this action, and apparently (though not in reality) defied the Re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erve Board. A storm of discussion followed, culminating in demand from Senator Glass of Virginia that Mitchell be emoved as a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New ork.

Subsequent tension in the money market and sinking pells in stocks continually linked the two markets, and Villiam C. Durant, motor manufacturer and reputed "bull eader" of the stock market, made matters no better when, in radio address on April 14, he asserted that high money vas leading to the breakdown of security values and de-anded that the board "keep its hands off business," suggest-ng that credit be made available when and as needed, with-ut the paternalistic restraint of any over-cautious group. He vent so far as to suggest that for the good of the situation he Federal Reserve's rate should be reduced to 3 per cent, erhaps on the unique theory that by making funds available t very cheap rates speculators would be discouraged from orrowing, or perhaps again on the theory that those who vere lending in the Street at high rates might be discouraged y this powerful competition. In a later address, made in 'aris on May 31, Durant went further than before and used he word "illegal" in describing the board's restrictive opera-ions, as a result of which, he said, "the financial policy of America was made the laughing-stock of the civilized world."

To the average onlooker, with an impersonal interest in vhat is going on—if there still be such an individual in the Jnited States—it all must seem very much muddled. That he Federal Reserve Board should effectively set its opinion gainst that of a great army of speculators and investors indi-ates that an amazing power is in the hands of the group of nen comprising the board—"more power," as one observer as stated, "than is possessed by the President, and beyond ny constituted authority in the United States." That it hould have succeeded in what it set out to do simply by lec-uring, and without employing its most effective weapon (an dvanced rediscount rate), adds to the wonder. No change n the rediscount rate in New York has occurred since July 3, 1928, yet in the meantime the open-market rates on col-ateral time loans have advanced to 8 and 9 per cent, and Street rates on call money have been as high as 20 per cent.

Those whose affairs do not bring them into intimate laily touch with Wall Street cannot dismiss the controversy ver the money market as a mere episode reflecting a dispute hat does not concern them, between official Washington and peculative Wall Street. It goes further, in that it crystal-izes certain fundamental changes that have come during ecent years in the nation's structure. When the Federal Re-erve System was designed, its makeup was purposely shaped o guard against the invasion of speculative and investment redit. Yet it is seen that such credit has been secured at hat source to a large extent. When the Federal Reserve System was designed speculative and investment credit occu-ied a much less important place than is the case today, and he sources contributing to the Wall Street call-money mar-et were exceedingly limited. Today speculative and invest-nent credits are dominant factors in our financial structure, ar more so than commercial credit, and the sources of the all-money supply are not the banks alone, but the indi-iduals, firms, and corporations drawn to the market and mploying vast amounts there.

The fact that there are more than 3,000,000 individual ecurity holders in the United States at the present time, as compared with perhaps one-fifth that number prior to the war, means that the whole relation of credit, speculation, and investment is on a wider platform, and the large question pressing for an answer is whether our credit facilities have kept full pace, or can continue to keep full pace, with the demands made upon them. On the scale of recent demands, it must be agreed that the answer is in the negative. Sufficient credit is of course available through the Federal Reserve and local banks for the average commercial requirements, and manufacturers and merchants have found no difficulty in supplying their legitimate needs. Such a thing as a credit panic like that which broke the trade boom of 1920 and brought about the depression of 1921 is wholly out of the question. But we are now more than a commercial people; we have expanded into a nation of investors, and not only that, we are the financial capital of the world.

Finance has been running on long legs in the United States during recent years. Will these now have to be shortened? Perhaps this would not be so great an evil. Expansion that goes a long way on credit, without building a proper and substantial foundation of capital strength underneath, is bound eventually to bring disaster. This is not to criticize the enormous financing that has taken place, either for domestic or foreign purposes. It is not to say that seven billion dollars of brokers' loans at this time are ominous, or that the collateral loans at our banks are a sign of danger. The country has grown to such an extent that, relatively to total wealth, the present amount of security issues and the present volume of speculative credit may be a less serious burden than half the corresponding amounts a few years ago. It must be agreed, however, that new security issues have followed one another at a swift pace, while speculation in stocks has for a year past absorbed the attention and the money of too many people. Not only in New York, but in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country, men and women have been neglecting their daily affairs to study stock reports. Money has been withdrawn in large sums from business and savings accounts, and loans have been negotiated on collateral by persons who never before knew what it was to borrow on stocks. The ticker, up to a few weeks ago at least, had taken the place of the ledger as a measure of many a man's progress.

The large and serious aspects of our credit capacity remain to be determined, and lately we have repeatedly heard the suggestions that the Federal Reserve Act be amended to permit its direct support of security operations on lines that are not now allowed. An amendment to bring such a wide change into effect would probably be lost, and properly, by an overwhelming majority were it proposed in Congress at this time. It must be seen that the logic in support of the suggestion is not wholly wrong, but it is not yet time for making amendments. Bonds and shares that represent sound intrinsic value and that have a ready market on the exchanges occupy a primary place among our assets, more so than ever before, and it does not seem an extreme step from making fifteen-day loans against government bonds to making them on railroad bonds or on high-grade industrial issues. Many commercial banks are lending more extensively on securities today than on commercial paper, but only the commercial paper is rediscountable. True, bonds and stocks are not the same as self-liquidating commercial paper, the discounting of which is a Reserve bank's primary function, but Reserve

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

banks have repeatedly made loans against long-term government bonds, the only class of long-term securities accepted for the purpose.

Commercial paper, for that matter, is in less plentiful supply, for it has given way to stocks as corporations found it to their advantage when in need of funds to issue new shares instead of approaching their banks for credit. The emphasis on borrowing, it will be seen, has shifted; instead of corporations coming to the banks to borrow it is the holders of their new shares who are the borrowers. The debt obligations of corporations were readily discountable at the Reserve banks; their share obligations are not discountable at all. Share obligations have run to unusually large amounts, and in order that buyers might find the credit with which to finance purchases we have had the curious spectacle of corporations themselves appearing as lenders to the very people who bought the shares that they issued and that enabled them to refrain from borrowing. In other words, a large part of the funds that have been lent on call in Wall Street represents the proceeds of share issues which, instead of being employed for their original purpose, in manufacturing or merchandising, have been attracted away from that purpose by the rates offered on the call-loan market. Banks in New York City, besides lending their own money, have taken upon themselves the role of agents, and lend for a commission the sums that otherwise would be used in the channels of trade or would be on deposit in the banks.

That this is an unsound condition—particularly now that several billions are being thus lent—goes without saying. Money markets are delicately adjusted and require at all times the most careful treatment. The mere fact that the Reserve Board threatened to curtail its accommodations was enough to cause turmoil. The Reserve Board and the commercial banks recognize responsibility, but independent lenders have no responsibility other than to themselves, and should a number of them take it upon themselves suddenly to withdraw their funds from call loans it is conceivable that serious consequences would ensue. Should money rates decline sharply before the end of the year it is reasonable to assume that this form of money lending will diminish.

The full meaning of the Reserve Board's policies is still to be seen; perhaps it is at last in the way of establishing a banking program that will be properly imbedded in the structure of American finance. Ever since it came into being the Reserve System has not been permitted to operate normally; the war and post-war demands, and the need for adapting banking to Treasury policies, intervened. It is within the possibilities that the Reserve Board will henceforward attempt to act without regard to other than financial considerations. It has made a start by centralizing authority in itself and asserting authority over the twelve Reserve banks by rationing credit and dictating rediscount rates in a way that in its judgment are in the best interest of the country as a whole. A stabilizing policy that will equalize prosperity but that will flatten out extreme bull markets by balancing commercial credits and limiting speculative loans will be worth watching. Whether it will succeed is an open question, but the losses of the past few months were mostly paper losses; time will tell whether real values will increase and change those losses back again into profits.

Divorce in Russia and America*

By JULIUS HOLZBERG

NO question concerning the Soviet Union has received as much attention in America as has the subject of marriage and divorce. Philippics condemning these relations as free love and the nationalization of women on the one hand have been countered on the other with paeans of praise characterizing the marital status in Russia as heaven on earth.

The divorce law is simplicity itself. Either party may obtain a divorce without stating any cause and without notifying the opposite party, simply by applying at the divorce bureau. The applicant gives his or her name, address, and various other descriptive information; his identification papers are then stamped and the deed is done. No courts, judges, lawyers, fees, or delays. The actual procedure itself takes five minutes, but in most of the bureaus that I attended the queue before the divorce counter made waiting about half an hour imperative. The husband or wife as the case may be is notified by the bureau of the divorce. There can be no cross-petitions or arguments. The divorce is granted as a matter of right. But whatever misgivings one may have in regard to the ease of divorce should be somewhat allayed by the rigorous and inexorable alimony laws. The term "alimony" is used here denoting the support of minor children, as alimony employed in the American sense of support of the wife alone is non-existent in Soviet Russia, with the few exceptions that shall be noted later.

When a divorce is granted and the applicant has children the alimony case is then and there set down for hearing. These hearings usually come up within three to five days, all depending on the condition of the docket, but in no case in more than two weeks. At this hearing the court determines who shall have the custody of the children, how much alimony shall be paid, and by whom. Although the court may grant the custody to either husband or wife, in practice the wife is granted the custody in 95 per cent of the cases, as she is usually better fitted than the husband to undertake it. In considering alimony the court inquires into the earnings of the husband and what commitments he may have to his other dependents. In no case can the courts disappropriate more than 50 per cent of a person's earnings for any purpose or purposes whatsoever. While no specific rule is set, alimony usually amounts to between 25 and 35 per cent of a person's salary, providing he has no other dependents. Inasmuch as a divorced person may remarry and have other children, or in some way alter the status of his obligations, the amount fixed by the court is subject to review. While the law does not differentiate between man and woman in the payment of alimony, as a matter of actual practice the woman

* The sixth in a series of articles on marriage and divorce. The last, by Fannie Hurst, will appear in a subsequent issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pays alimony in Russia as seldom as she does in the States. However, with various types of employment open to women and the attempts in the Soviet Union at her full emancipation and equality with man, this condition may alter with time and we may find that the new economic conditions of the woman will place her in the alimony-paying class.

Alimony dodging is almost unheard of in Russia, as the government deducts the money at the source of payment and gives it direct to the payee. And, of course, in peasant life one would hardly expect a peasant to run away and give up his farm in order to avoid paying alimony. Alimony may be arranged by consent of both parties without court action, but the amount must be satisfactory to the authorities. Such consent alimonies are not very frequent, and I had to look through at least one hundred divorces before I found such a case on record, and, oddly enough, it was that of a lawyer who voluntarily agreed to give his wife 50 per cent of his earnings for the support of their child. The allowance is paid until the child is eighteen years of age.

The property owned by husband and wife before marriage is retained by each and any wealth produced by their mutual labor is divided after divorce as the court decrees equitable. In the Soviet Union, however, a woman's endeavors and labors in the home are considered to be a part of the productivity. In the villages such a division is extremely difficult, as farms, farm implements, and live stock can hardly be divided without injury. Furthermore, many families including father, mother, sons, daughters, uncles, and other relatives work their farms together, and a divorce of one of these occasions an economic eruption affecting an entire family. Usually a money settlement is made in lieu of a division, and in other cases a percentage of the crop is given.

Alimony to the wife personally for her own support may be given in two cases: First, when her earning capacity is lost through physical inability to work, which inability originated during the marriage; and second, when she is out of employment. In the first case the court may grant alimony to her not exceeding one year and in the second not exceeding six months. Of course, if the wife is working and the husband is under the above limitations the court may grant alimony on a like basis to the husband.

Marriage is legal either by civil or common law. Accordingly, the only statistics one can obtain in Soviet Russia refer to the civil or recorded marriages alone, and one can only hazard a guess at the extent of common-law marriage. Generally speaking, common-law marriages in Russia are similar in theory to such marriages in England and America except that probably less proof is necessary to establish the marital state in Russia. Cohabitation, a common household, and a holding out to the world of a marital status are deemed the essentials of a common-law marriage. In Soviet Russia the fact of "holding out to the world" of the marital status is the most important, and it would be extremely difficult for a man who held out a woman as his wife later to repudiate her as such.

I made it a point to ask judges in Leningrad, Moscow, and Odessa who handle alimony cases their estimate of the number of common-law marriages; no figure that I received exceeded 25 per cent of the recorded marriages and most of the judges felt that they probably were not over 10 per cent. Inasmuch as a woman is always left with the children and the responsibilities when the husband deserts her, it is unquestionably to her interest to have a recorded marriage. Otherwise the burden is upon her to prove the male parent, and further, if she desires a share of the wealth produced during their cohabitation, she would be faced with the necessity of proving the common-law marriage.

All church marriages must be preceded by a registered marriage and a registered certificate must be displayed before any priest, rabbi, or minister can solemnize a marriage.

It should always be borne in mind that the statutes in Soviet Russia are not construed as rigidly as ours and courts have the right to enlarge upon the law and to judge more freely as to the violation of its operation. In Leningrad, for example, although the law places no limitations upon either the number or frequency of divorces, I was told of a man who came five successive months for divorces and was subsequently arrested and sentenced to serve one year for disorderly conduct. There was also the story of a Communist who had been married twenty-five years. His wife had remained faithfully at his side through many years of exile in Siberia and through the bitter conflict, hardship, and famine of the revolution. In 1926 he suddenly disappeared, leaving his wife feeble and destitute. Later she received notice of his divorce. She appealed to the courts and was granted permanent alimony out of his wages although the law itself made no special provision for such an alimony payment. He was also expelled from the Communist Party.

The most interesting case I have heard is the one about a man who desired to cohabit with but not to marry a pretty, young peasant girl living in the city. She professed her love for him but insisted that he marry her. Finally, after he had been unable to accomplish his desires without marriage, he acquiesced and married her. They shared the nuptial chamber one night and the following morning he gave her ten kopeks (five cents) and sent her home, laughingly telling her that he had what he wanted, and that under the law he could and would obtain a divorce that day. She complained to the authorities and he was arrested. The facts were clearly brought out in court and the judge sentenced him to two years imprisonment for rape, explaining that the defendant had accomplished his desire by subterfuge and it had had the same effect in Soviet law as if he had used physical violence. Such a case is indicative of the refreshing attitude of the interpretation of the laws in the Soviet Union.

The housing shortage in the larger cities causes many peculiar situations to arise. Although a man may divorce a woman he cannot dispossess her from their apartment, and not infrequently we find not only the husband and wife living in the same rooms after divorce, but often the added embarrassment of the former husband bringing his new wife to the household occupied by his former wife and children.

Comparative statistics for European Russia and the United States would not indicate the results of the Soviet law and theory. Russia is predominantly a peasant country while America is predominantly industrial, and divorces on the farms are always much less frequent than in the cities and towns. Moreover, the only available statistics for all of Russia and for America are of 1926 and the revised Soviet divorce code effective January 1, 1927, making divorces simpler, increased their number immeasurably, as will be shown later.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

However, in 1926 the divorce rate of the two countries compared as follows:

	Population	Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Divorces to Marriages
United States	117,000,000	1,202,000	180,000	15
European Russia	113,000,000	1,200,000	186,000	15.5

From the above it can be seen that the United States and Russia in 1926 were about equal in the divorce rate but the increase in 1927 in Russia was tremendous. For instance Leningrad jumped from 5,500 divorces in 1926 to 16,000 in 1927, Moscow from 12,000 to about 20,000, and Odessa from 800 to 1,600.

In order that these statistics may have a relative basis I will compare Leningrad and Moscow, centers of communist theory and practice, and also Odessa with various American cities. I have chosen those American cities that are in States with fairly reasonable divorce laws. The actual figures are from the counties rather than the cities of America but in all cases the cities are almost coterminous with the counties.

Year		Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Divorces to Marriages
1927	Leningrad	24,215	16,106	66.5
"	Moscow	26,211	19,421	74
"	Odessa	5,207	1,597	32
1926	Cincinnati	4,126	989	24
"	Cleveland	11,000	3,420	31
"	Columbus (O.)	3,702	1,000	28
"	Chicago	40,316	8,365	21
"	Detroit	16,290	4,604	28
"	Los Angeles	16,230	4,635	28
"	Denver	2,714	987	39
"	St. Louis	8,583	2,971	34

As is evident from the above, the divorce rate is from 100 to 200 per cent higher in Moscow and Leningrad than in the American cities. In Odessa the rate is about the same and this can be accounted for, first, by the fact that Soviet philosophy has not as yet fully impregnated the Ukraine, which has been a part of the Soviet Union only for five years. Secondly, over one-third of the population in Odessa is made up of Jews and the divorce rate among them is always smaller. The rate in Moscow amounting close to 74 per cent of the marriages indicates the highest peak in Russia, and one may well consider the possible effect of this high rate upon the social life of the family.

That the high rate of divorce is taking place mainly in the large cities where Soviet philosophy has most effectively reached the population can readily be seen from the following statistics of the state of Moscow which comprises a population of over four million, of which the city of Moscow is less than one-half:

Year		Population	Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Divorces to Marriages
1927	Moscow City	2,036,000	26,211	19,421	74
"	Towns of Moscow State	682,000	8,680	4,814	55
"	Rural Districts of Moscow State	1,866,000	18,545	5,481	29.5
"	Moscow State as a whole	4,584,000	53,436	29,716	55

So that here within the region of one hundred miles the effects of the new divorce law are manifest in the towns nearly 90 per cent more than in the country and 150 per cent more in the city.

In considering Russia as a whole the figures show a similar situation.

Year		Population	Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Divorces to Marriages
1926	Cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants	10,900,000	142,300	39,500	28
"	Cities under 50,000	9,800,000	108,300	19,500	18
"	Rural Districts	92,700,000	993,000	120,700	12

In the State of Ohio the approximate statistics for marriage and divorce in counties with large cities and in the rest of Ohio are as follows:

Year		Marriages	Divorces	Per cent Divorces to Marriages
1926	Counties with large cities (Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Toledo, Dayton, and Akron)	29,000	8,050	27.5
"	Small cities and rural districts	26,000	5,900	23

However, the most engaging figures are those showing the duration of the marital life of those divorced in the Soviet Union. Is it true or false that men and women are living with each other an extremely short time and are changing their wives and husbands along with their changing moods and desires? The following table tells the story.

DURATION OF MARITAL LIFE OF DIVORCEES

Year		1 year or less per cent	1 to 4 years inclusive per cent	5 to 9 inclusive per cent	10 to 19 inclusive per cent	20 years and over per cent
1927	Leningrad	15.5	37	29.5	12	6
1927	Moscow	19	37	26	12	6
1926	Ohio	5	30	28.5	25.5	11
1926	U. S. A.	4.7	33.2	29.7	22.4	10

In other words, in Leningrad and Moscow there is from three to nearly five times the percentage of divorces in the first year of married life, while the percentage between one year to nine is about the same as in America. From ten years and over the percentage of divorces in America is twice that of Moscow and Leningrad. This latter fact can be accounted for when we realize that people who have lived more than ten years of married life in Russia were married before the revolution and received their education and training under the old regime. The new philosophy affects them but little and the stigma of divorce is still a part of their religious and social ideology.

Interesting, too, are the comparative statistics in the state of Moscow as to the duration of married life among divorcees in the city of Moscow as compared with the towns and rural districts. These figures indicate clearly how the new philosophy is entering into the life of the small-town and peasant youth while it leaves their elders indifferent, hostile, and unaffected.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	1 year or less per cent	1 to 4 years inclusive per cent	5 to 9 inclusive per cent	10 to 19 inclusive per cent	20 years and over per cent
City of Moscow	19	37	26	12	6
Towns in State of Moscow	25	37	22	9.5	6.5
Rural Districts in State of Moscow	31	38	18.5	7.3	5

Note how the rate begins to decrease in the five to nine group in the towns and villages, showing the small percentage of divorces among the older people. In the towns 82 per cent of the divorces are among men and women who have lived together nine years or less, which is practically the duration of the revolution, while in the rural districts this group represents 87 per cent of the divorces. In other words, people who were married before the revolution represent only 13 per cent of the divorces, while in the State of Ohio the same group represents 36.5 per cent of the divorces. These facts should be pertinent in considering the question as to whether the Russian peasant will be weaned away from his old thoughts and habits.

What a high rate of divorce indicates would be interpreted differently by different persons. It is not the purpose of this article to draw conclusions or to become controversial. Divorce is on the increase not only in Russia but in America, and the following figures show that the problem, if it be a problem, exists in the States also:

PER CENT OF DIVORCES TO MARRIAGES IN THE UNITED STATES

1890	5.9
1900	7.9
1910	8.8
1920	13.4
1925	14.8
1926	15

In thirty-six years, therefore, in America, even under our more stringent laws, the percentage of divorce has increased nearly 200 per cent. In Moscow and Leningrad the percentage of divorces to marriages has been as follows:

Moscow	Leningrad
1923—23.5 per cent	1923—23 per cent
1924—30	1924—26
1925—41	1925—24
1926—48	1926—26
1927—74	1927—66

What the future will be, in either country, cannot be foreseen.

Aimee Semple McPherson

By JULIA N. BUDLONG

NO phenomenon at present operating in American life so well attests to the state of culture and intelligence of the masses of its citizens as does revivalism. And no figure in revivalism is so interesting and significant as the Reverend Aimee Semple McPherson, pastor of Angelus Temple, Los Angeles.

Mrs. McPherson is a woman of parts! No one who comes in contact with her, whether sympathetically or not, seeks to deny it. Her work speaks for itself and her powers are apparent on every hand. Her great church is packed and the doors are closed an hour before she is scheduled to begin her service. Her followers number 12,000 souls in Los Angeles alone; 30,000, when the surrounding territory is included. Compelled by the refusal of other denominations to fellowship her converts, she has, in the last five years, founded her own denomination, which already numbers 240 churches. She is the head of a Bible School with an enrolment of a thousand students. She edits and largely composes a weekly news-sheet and a monthly magazine. Biographies, books, volumes of sermons, collections of songs pour from her agile pen.

But however apparent the results of her remarkable success, its cause is the subject for considerable controversy. To her followers she is simply the Lord's Annointed, sent to herald His Second Coming. To them, everything about her partakes of the miraculous and no further attempt is made to analyze the wonders of her works. At the opposite extreme are the scoffers who see nothing in her but a clever mountebank, devoid of genuine intelligence or sincerity.

This charge of insincerity is the oftenest hurled against her. It is not to be wondered at. The gospel she preaches is the cheapest and least adulterated brand of pre-millenniumism, decorated and elaborated with symbols and illustrations fitted to the easy assimilation of the lowest type of moron; yet her successful operation of complex institutions and her capable management of her human and financial resources bear witness to her intelligence. If the choice lay between believing her self-deceived by her own tawdry preachments or playing to a moronic gallery in her desire for success, the evidence would certainly favor the hypothesis of insincerity.

But the assumption of insincerity is not entirely satisfactory. In the first place, she works too hard! The care of a home and two children is usually considered job enough for a woman. Conducting the affairs of a city parish or overseeing the work of a denomination is usually considered job enough for a man. Editing a weekly or monthly alone is an editor's full-time occupation, even when he writes no more than a column of editorial comment. Presiding over a school of a thousand pupils is an educator's life-work. Mrs. McPherson does all of these, does them well, and then does much besides! To carry forward a program like that, heart and mind must be immutably loyal to their task.

Nor is it likely that the Temple with its contributory organizations yields anything like the financial return commonly attributed to it. Rumors are rife about the price paid for a "healing seat," or an hour in the "Prayer Tower," but it is as impossible to verify them as it is the opposite rumors of miraculous healings and sudden conversions from a life of sin. What is apparent is the fact that the people who throng her meetings are very largely the poor, the undernourished, the maladjusted. The plate which passes by you at collection time is thinly surfaced with pennies and nickels and an occasional dime. Moreover all the earnings of the Temple seem

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to go back again into the work. New Lighthouses are being established; new school-buildings erected; new publications launched with astonishing rapidity, and the munificence of the Temple's charities commands respect from the most fervent scoffers. These charities, incidentally, are administered through the services of men and women to whom the Temple's doctrine is almost ridiculous.

The second obstacle to an easy assumption of Mrs. McPherson's insincerity is the devotion of her followers. They have remained steadfast through one of the most extended and virulent newspaper campaigns ever waged against a public figure. They have remained impervious to newspaper attacks, to flaming headlines, vaudeville jokes, grand-jury investigations. Only the First Ford ever outlived such a barrage of ridicule, calumny, and slander! To be sure, a large part of her following is too dull to read the papers and the faithful are enjoined from attendance at the theater, but the news was in the air and upon everybody's tongue and there were plenty of neighbors to keep them informed.

The attitude of the press toward Mrs. McPherson is as interesting a case study in journalism as is the lady herself in revivalism. It seems that that great Moloch, the Public, demands just so much in the way of human sacrifice to appease its appetite for scandal. The newspapers are the priests who serve the altar. Moreover, the moral law still sits enthroned in the newspaper office. Everything is either good or bad, right or wrong in the daily news. Anyone admitted to the front page must be either a hero or a villain.

Mrs. McPherson was cast in the villain role. Being a woman, it was more natural to cast her that way. Why, is a puzzle. It may be a hangover from the Victorian assumption that any woman who gets her name in the paper must be "notorious," or it may be just a phase of the great American pastime of defaming what we have ourselves raised up. Being the adored of thousands she was fair game for democracy's "leveling process." At any rate, here was Mrs. McPherson—front-page copy and a villain. Then, quite suddenly, she did the most spectacular thing conceivable—she disappeared! And, just as suddenly, she reappeared! Down in the ocean and up in the desert! Not a prophet of history could show anything like such a feat!

What had happened? Where had she been? What had she done? Frankly, no one knows except the lady herself. "And she won't tell?" Not at all! She has been telling ever since—loudly, repeatedly, emphatically—from her rostrum, through her books, in her interviews, under cross-examination, before grand-jury investigations! Baited, investigated, grilled, by the cleverest and most determined legal talent Los Angeles County could assemble, she stuck to her guns. Not a contradiction betrayed her. Not a shred of conflicting evidence, not a stone of the structure of counter-theories, stood the test of time or analysis. She came out unscathed. She has her story and she sticks to it. The only trouble is: Nobody will believe it!

Mrs. McPherson has contended throughout that her troubles are wholly the result of having begun to expose, by name, place, and date, the vice organization of the city, following the conversion of a notorious drug addict and underworld inmate; that she was repeatedly threatened with punishment if she did not desist; that her kidnapping and the subsequent attempt to defame her character were the threatened punishments. Whatever the truth of this may be, petty, irritating, nonsensical charges and investigations have dogged her footsteps continually.

Aided, of course, by the papers! For Mrs. McPherson is excellent copy. A headline story about "Aimee" in Los Angeles can be counted on to triple circulation within the hour. No smallest legal disturbance over a detail of her complex business organization; no least quarrel or grievance among her huge congregation; no evangelical mission or vacation journey but receives its front-page story extending over weeks or months and bristling with journalistic interpretations. The dismissal of a suit for want of cause for action is made to appear like a case "hushed up out of court for fear of public prosecution." And when a choir leader resigns—or Sister has her hair trimmed—!

What manner of woman, then, is this, who can sail serenely above calumny, ridicule, and prosecution? Mrs. McPherson's platform manners are simple and charming; her manner of address, direct and candid. The radio's transmission of her voice does her an injustice. The depth and richness of the undertones are eliminated and the overtones hardened until they sound harsh and false. To hear her from the platform, after a radio attendance, is to be agreeably surprised. Mrs. McPherson, wheedling, cajoling, admonishing, "kidding" her vast audience is like a mother with a numerous brood. She preaches the gospel they heard as children, adding nothing, changing nothing. Mrs. McPherson, launching a new movement or preaching a new theology, would be a Mrs. McPherson shorn of much of her power and popularity. But by telling the old familiar stories, singing the old familiar hymn tunes, using the old and time-worn phrases, she wins to herself the old familiar responses and deepens the grooves of childlike trust and love through which the emotions of her audience flow.

Moreover she is past-master in the art of suggestion. There is the gown with its flowing sleeves, suggesting angels' wings; black, for nuns' garb, over white, for angels and purity; the huge choir behind her, banking up toward the lofty ceiling, is in white, like the heavenly choir of Scripture; light streams down from heaven upon the spot where Sister stands; her own glorious hair is itself her Crown of Gold. Childish, obvious, trite—yet she is performing for children—for minds capable of comprehending nothing beyond the obvious.

Brought up on a Canadian farm near Winnipeg, her high-school science courses were just beginning to fill her eager mind with doubts of the Methodist and Salvation Army doctrines of her early religious education when the tall young Scotch evangelist, Robert Semple, came that way. And suddenly the need to be converted and the need to win him became one undivided and overwhelming need. Getting him and "getting religion" were one emotional pattern. Doubt was sin, science was wicked, since they stood between her and her emotional fulfilment. The door slammed shut upon the dawning intelligence. Love triumphed, and she was taken away from further contact with any but orthodox religious associates, and when her husband's death in China, two years after their marriage and one month before the birth of their daughter, sent her back to America stricken with grief and loneliness, her one solace was to carry on his work. Henceforth, loyalty to his religion was loyalty to her beloved dead. To doubt one was to be faithless to the other.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Her second, unsuccessful, marriage threw her back once more upon her early loyalties and her former work.

This is the emotional history which prevents Mrs. McPherson from questioning her husband's religion—the religion of her childhood. Her mind withdraws in pain and grief from anything that threatens its supremacy in her life and enters a blanket denial to anything damaging to its veracity. She has a blind spot covering all the area where inconsistencies or contradictions show themselves. At the same time, to the consideration of any subject not concerned with doctrine and morals, she can bring a keen and active mind, broadened by her experiences and sharpened by an understanding of the childlike human heart.

This is the fanaticism which explains many of the inconsistencies in her life and in her work. Convinced that she is carrying on Robert Semple's mission, the deduction is simple that any means which will accomplish the task is legitimate. Hence the faked cures (if there are any). She is winning souls for the Lord and whatever means she employs are deserved! Undoubtedly she honestly believes that the Holy Ghost operates through her to heal the sick—sometimes. She has been told so too often by grateful and adoring sufferers to doubt it. When we recall the centuries through which the King's Touch was considered potent in England there is little to marvel at in her healing powers. If, then, confidence in this power, to the end of more and better healings, can be built up through a few spectacular achievements, the duty lies upon her to produce them! It must be remembered that it is not salvation by character which is the burden of her theology, but salvation by baptism. To get her people baptized—that is her mission—by fair means or foul. Just as the early Christian missionaries to the Northern barbarians herded their uncomprehending converts in by tribes, thereby saving many a heathen soul and Christianizing Europe, so Mrs. McPherson leads the humble, the erring, and the suffering down to the mourners' bench by any and every means within her power. What is a faked cure, more or less, or a garbled Bible story, if a soul is saved, or a burden lifted? And her people say: "Amen!"

In the Driftway

AFTER reading the Drifter's comment in the issue of May 29 on the survival of odd and individual names among newspapers, Charles E. Moreau of the *Independent Press* of Bloomfield, New Jersey, writes in to say:

> My favorite has always been the Birmingham (Michigan) *Eccentric*. It certainly allows the editor the greatest latitude to be independent and unusual.
>
> Among the 333 weekly newspapers of New Jersey are included practically all the names known to newspaperdom and several original ones. Among the latter are the Salem *Sunbeam* and the Belvidere *Apollo*. The weeklies are the most likely to preserve the old flavor of journalism. There is the Princeton *Packet*, the Collingswood *Retrospect*, the Butler *Argus*, the Woodstown *Monitor-Register*, the Dover *Index*, the Dover *Advance*, the Kearny *Observer*, the Lambertville *Beacon*, the Hudson *Dispatch*, the Freehold *Transcript*, the Woodbury *Constitution*, the *Hunterdon County Democrat*, the Rutherford *Republican*, the Bloomfield *Independent Press*, the Glassboro *Enterprise*, the Egg Harbor *Pilot*, the Park Ridge *Local*, the Hasbrouck Heights *News-Letter*; the Carlstadt *Free Press*, the Palisades *Palisadian*, the Garfield *Guardian*, the Westwood *Chronicle*, the Milford *Leader*, the Somerville *Messenger*, the Leonia *Life*, the Mount Holly *Mirror*, the Bordentown *Register*, the Beverly *Banner*, the Riverton *New Era*, the Haddonfield *Public Press*, the Atco *Breeze*, the Audubon *Weekly Visitor*, the Cape May *Star and Wave*, the Ocean City *Sentinel*, the Bridgeton *Pioneer*, the Maplewood *Home News*, the Short Hills *Item*, the Lakewood *Citizen*, the Toms River *Courier*, the Bound Brook *State Centre-Record*, the Roselle *Spectator*, and the Clinton Hill *Chat*.

* * * * *

DON C. SEITZ, who lives in Brooklyn—a city once known as the habitat of baby-carriages—finds that about the only moving objects in the streets now are automobiles, while the number of them is so great in places that they move only with the greatest difficulty.

> According to computations made by experts for the association of automobile manufacturers [he says] there is one motor car for every eighty-five feet of navigable highway in the United States. Given each one a speed of sixty feet per second, they are less than a second and a half apart when all are in motion, and the congestion is growing every day. The cramp in New York has become so serious that it is beginning to affect the sale of cars in the metropolitan area. The motor-making companies are concerning themselves with world-wide plans for new roads so that there will be room enough to accommodate the output they must have in order to keep up their earnings. Owing to congestion of traffic, the speed advantages long enjoyed in comparison with horse-drawn vehicles are disappearing, and this, coupled with the higher cost of cars and trucks as against the slower varieties they have displaced, is fast making them uneconomical. So something has got to be done about it.

* * * * *

MR. SEITZ is also concerned with a new aspect to the old problem of congestion in the subway trains of New York City. Of this he writes:

> In addition to the increase in numbers carried, another unrecorded factor has arisen, and that is the expansion in the size and weight of the passengers carried. When the flood from Southern Europe began thirty years ago the people who came were short and thin, due to bad living conditions and worse treatment. This remedied in our affluent city, like Jeshuran, they and their descendants have waxed fat; also tall and broad. It is safe to say that on an average they weigh thirty pounds more each than the early comers did, and accordingly take up much more room, bodily speaking. This is a formidable factor in the subway problem. It means a 20 per cent addition to the squeeze, on top of population growth.
>
> I was journeying once in a tiny tram car from Kobe to Kyoto in Japan. The natives squatted on their heels on the side-way seats like little Buddhas, some sixteen to the side, where ten full-grown Americans would have sufficed. There came on board a professional wrestler, a huge mountain of flesh built up from babyhood on beef and beer. When he squatted he evicted six of his fellow-citizens. A dozen of him would have packed the car. What would happen to Japan if the nation fed itself up to six feet furnishes an appalling prospect. It is happening in New York along with the enlarged opulence of our immigrant population. THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Methodist Rebuttal

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Having read "Dodsworth," I wish that some expert gauger would tell me how the human alimentary canal can contain all the beers, wines, whiskeys-and-sodas, cocktails, etc., etc., imbibed at one—many a one—sitting by Sam, Tub, Ross, et al. Furthermore, at various places in the book the author pours out the vials of his mild contempt upon the Methodist church, prohibition, and the American schoolma'am tourists in Europe, a part of all of which (and whom) I have been, as our old friend Æneas says.

Now, I venture the opinion that the grimmest schoolma'am that ever stuck a pencil in her back hair and started out to find culture and put it in her notebook was, by all the canons of decency on earth and in heaven, a more admirable person than the bibulous degenerates so well delineated in this book. Yet I am told by publisher and admiring critics that these are characters Mr. Lewis *likes* (italics not mine). Perhaps an author who is so far wrong about women teachers may be mistaken in his opinion of prohibition and the Methodist church. Of course there is a bare possibility that an innocent Midwesterner shows mental weakness in believing publishers.

Oxford, Ohio, May 23 Frances G. Richard

More About Alimony

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The quaint theory that women are "biologically and nervously" unfitted to compete with men in the struggle for bread and camembert is scarcely upheld by the millions of self-sufficient women now competing and surviving happily in this same competition. If there is present a nervous inferiority it has been developed in the female by her own egotism and selfishness, not by nature, which formed her to bear burdens rather than to evade them.

The state must care for and shelter morons and non-producers, not healthy individuals, who should be left free to accomplish more important things. If women fail in their first attempt at marriage, lessons should have been learned from this failure which would make more certain the success of a second venture. And thirty-five, far from being a dead-line sexually, is quite the opposite, a meridian of charm, if not the equator itself! Without referring to Racine, Sinclair Lewis, or other erudite source-material, here is one who maintains that any woman who cares to can take adequate care of herself, financially and emotionally, without benefit of alimony.

Erie, Pennsylvania, May 20 Beatrice Grandfield

Query

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your editorial of May 22, The Hoover Honeymoon Ends, I find the following statement: "A year ago wheat was selling at $2.15 a bushel in New York; at this writing it is $1.29—good news for the consumer; the reverse for the crop-grower." Please tell me why $1.29 wheat is good news for the consumer. Is bread selling for any less to the masses of New York City today than it did one year ago?

Minneapolis, Minn., May 22 H. M. Harden

A Correction from Mr. Older

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is with regret I feel compelled to make a correction in George West's flattering article about me in *The Nation* of June 5. In his article Mr. West said: "Then when the war hysteria and the preparedness day bomb outrage at length stirred the business community to mobilize irresistibly against him, Older faced the facts, saw 'Labor' among the first to desert him, and without hesitation changed the paper's policy to permit it to survive." I changed no policy whatever. In fact, when I discovered the Oxman letters which revealed that Oxman had committed perjury in the Mooney case I issued an extra of the *Bulletin* with a big across-the-page headline, "Fickert Framed the Mooney Case," and from that time on followed the Oxman story with other evidences of perjury until the law and order committee of the Chamber of Commerce sent for the owners of the *Bulletin* and exacted a promise from them that they would not permit me further to pursue the fight to establish the innocence of Mooney and Billings. It was about this time that I received an offer from Mr. Hearst to come to the *Call*. I realized that the big fight I was engaged in at that time would end if I remained where I was and I knew Mr. Hearst well enough to know he would be glad to permit me to go on with the crusade in his paper. So instead of changing the policy of the *Bulletin* I carried the policy from the *Bulletin* to the *Call* and pursued it until today. The Mooney-Billings case is uppermost in people's minds all over this country and Europe and before the summer is over Governor Young will find it expedient to release these innocent men.

San Francisco, June 5 Fremont Older

Oppression in Spain

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: May I add a few considerations to Mr. Hessler's article in *The Nation* of May 29. In Spain the status of the church is altered, and, *The Nation* must feel, for the worse. The nun and the parish priest are getting the price and the practice of the hard-won secular education, and the buildings of convents long since sequestrated, which were the only schoolhouses, have been made over to Orders which make no pretense of education. In an anniversary celebration last summer an official in the Department of Education proposed restoring to the church a general supervision of all education. The books of Luis Bello on Spanish schools that he has visited are accessible to your correspondent. From the newspapers even under the rigid political censorship he must know that throughout Spain from the village school to the Central University education is suffering spoliation, enslavement, and outrage. The better papers are so gagged, so often suspended, and so penalized that their continued existence is like that miracle of La Calzada when S. James is reported to have held up a young man unjustly hanged until, some months later, the judge reversed the sentence. To call the present state of Catalonia, Valencia, and the Basque country hispanicization is a more savage irony than any of Swift's.

The railways and probably other investments are paying dividends to enrich the religious orders and international business, but wages are nearly as disgraceful as in the mines of the Rio Tinto which are administered from London.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., May 28 Georgiana Goddard King

See pages 750, iii and iv

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Grace Before Eating

By VIRGINIA MOORE

Bless God for tablecloth so clean,
For radish red and lettuce green,
For silverware as sharp and shined
As the great praising in my mind.
Bless God for this white slice of bread
Cut thin (the ravens all are fed)
And for a mutton-bone to bite,
And baked potatoes, mealy white,
And grainy salt in silver vat,
And fluted golden butter-pat.
Bless God, this water in a glass
Is cold and clear for thirsts that pass
And for the thirst perpetually here
There is a water just as clear—
Yea, for this hunger of the heart
A food as fine as strawberry tart—
Yea, for this appetite of soul
A supper cooked on red-hot coal,
To which the people (praises be!)
Sit down in eternity.

Elinor Wylie's Leavetaking

Angels and Earthly Creatures. By Elinor Wylie. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

DEATH and love are the themes of the volume of lyrics with which Elinor Wylie closed her remarkable and brief career. To admit that the first theme predominates implies no suggestion of the macabre. But the truth is that, as a courageous adventurer in the universe, she had grown to be on gracious terms with death, and these last verses of hers, possibly from chance but far more likely from her own sensitive precision, have actually an air of wooing death, almost of wreathing it with garlands. There is, almost explicitly, a valedictory tone.

And yet, true as this is, it is perhaps misleading to put it into words. For it is also true that if she was not the gay lover of life that lustier, possibly shallower, poets have been she nevertheless felt life intensely, saw it clearly, understood it subtly. And after all, the conspicuous feature of this book is a group of related sonnets the matter of which is love. The publication of a sequence of love sonnets is always an especial challenge, but this challenge Elinor Wylie need have had no hesitation in issuing. The beauty of the sonnets is authentic, pure, individual. Considered also as drama, their content is curiously interesting. Here is love neither exultant nor blind, love knowing the frailty of its individual tenure and soberly expressing its ecstasy with an undeluded certainty and directness. The mood is sustained with a very precise art throughout nineteen poems.

Besides the sonnets, there are at least half a dozen poems in this collection, which is a grouping arranged by the poet herself on the eve of her death, that represent Elinor Wylie at her distinguished best. Her audience has no doubt come to learn that she was most individual when most akin to her eminent and acknowledged sources. The noble Hymn to Earth, for example, makes it strikingly clear that her understanding and love of Shelley wrought in her a bright reflection of many actual facets of Shelley's own spirit. There was some true kinship here. This Corruptible, though frankly related in substance and manner to the seventeenth-century poets by whom Elinor Wylie was so strongly influenced, has at the same time a strongly personal eloquence. In such work as this Elinor Wylie meets well the test of the true poet that the substance of his verse is not reducible to prose. Her best poems, such as those already mentioned and the lovely imaginative piece that she has called Chimaera, may be considered untranslatable into any harsher idiom.

In the few years that have passed since Elinor Wylie published her first verse, verse fashioned even then by the hand of a mature artist, there has happily been no altering of her characteristic accent, unique and unmistakable among the poets of her time. At the end as at the beginning she wrote with a proud reserve, disdainful of the easy and the accepted. But there are also certain differences. Inevitably she gained a freedom and flexibility not so apparent in the earlier poems. And she saw farther. And the concentration with which she finally spoke of life as well as of death suggest a heightened preoccupation with the few abiding verities. It is as if through use and discipline her poetic gift had become heated to a still white flame, reaching imperatively for its essential fuel. But with the increase in intensity, there is no sacrifice of her austere method and manner. The stern sincerity that was so inseparable a part of her, gave her work both the rigor and the beauty of chiseled steel. It was an art independent of properties to a very rare degree.

> Down to the Puritan marrow of my bones
> There's something in this richness that I hate,

she wrote, in her first book, of a Southern landscape. And these sonnets, heavily freighted as they are with emotion, depend upon no trappings for the effect that they produce.

If a prescience of death and, in an intellectual sense, an indifference to life—that is, a steady willingness to surrender it—are part of the melancholy beauty of these final poems, it should not be mistakenly supposed that there is any touch of weariness in their execution. For there was behind them an intellectual energy that never drooped and a concern for perfection that was alien to compromise. Elinor Wylie's poetry may have sung a farewell to the life we know, a welcome to sleep and change, but her valedictories have the proud vigor of deathless youth.

RIDGELY TORRENCE

Endurance

Wolf Solent: A Novel. By John Cowper Powys. Two volumes. Simon and Schuster. $5.

MR. POWYS'S novel is not only prodigiously long but obviously ambitious. It aspires to a place alongside the accepted masterpieces, and obliging readers have already compared it to the work of Wordsworth, Hardy, Dostoevski, Proust, Joyce, Emily Brontë, and Sophocles. But since so varied a list is rather more impressive than illuminating I should prefer to say that "Wolf Solent" strikes me as an intricate and at least superficially interesting tale of somewhat dubious significance. It is precious in style, fanciful in atmosphere, and grandiose in intention.

The hero, through whose mind the story is told, is a supersensitive young man who accepts a position as secretary to an eccentric squire in Dorset. He soon discovers that his employer is a sinister and perverted erotomaniac who intends

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that he shall busy himself with the composition of a scandalous chronicle of the countryside, and it is only at the cost of violating his own integrity that he is able to perform the work for which he has bargained. His further adventures—which are many—include marriage with a superlatively beautiful child of nature, the near-seduction of the philosophical daughter of a shady bookseller, and the final acceptance of presumptive cuckoldom; but these adventures are important only because of the effect which they have upon his own mystical fashion of accepting the universe. He had brought to Dorset a certain childish habit of retiring into himself and he had seemed to discover a serenity within. But in the midst of the evil with which he is surrounded he discovers the darker sides of his own nature, and he loses his grip upon this inward resource which he has been accustomed to call his "mythology." Fighting for spiritual life, he at last attains a kind of peace through the repetition of a new formula which turns around the magic word "endurance."

Now the private significance of such formulae to the introverted individual is often very great, but that significance is obviously of a sort very difficult to communicate. When repeated aloud to another person the formulae are very likely to become mere words again and, so far at least as I am concerned, Wolf Solent's crucial discovery is singularly unsatisfying. One has followed his adventures through two volumes, one has assumed that they would lead to some conclusion commensurate with their intricacy, and one discovers at the end that one is to be put off with a word. Life is to be "endured." There is no doubt about that. But the particular meaning of the phrase when it is used by that very eccentric individual Wolf Solent to sum up his wisdom of life does not seem either rich or even adequate.

Wolf is a great walker, and when any one of his spiritual crises comes upon him he is very likely to grasp his stick more tightly in his hand and then draw his cloak more closely about him. A tradition at least a century old has consecrated these theatrical gestures, and they may stand as the symbol of something essentially theatrical in the whole book. The chief character is a morbid poseur persistently aware of his own extraordinary sensitiveness of spirit and always on the lookout for opportunities to exhibit it. He attitudinizes over sights, sounds, and smells; he romanticizes every character and every incident; and he projects his own preciosity upon the entire universe of the novel which describes him. Full of references to good and evil, to sinister mysteries and ineffable delights, it is persistently mystical, determinedly poetic, and self-consciously "earthy." There is hardly one of its many characters who is not extraordinarily something or other, and there is no closet ever opened which is not found to contain a whole collection of skeletons. Everything is heightened and feverish, everybody is hectically intense. Mystery, darkness, and deep meanings meet one on every page, but the higher effect is piled upon effect the more the whole comes to seem unreal and arbitrary, phantasmagorical rather than strong. The characters cultivate their souls, nurse their emotions, and strain their spiritual eyesight until one grows at last out of all patience with people so persistently aware that they are "different" from the ordinary run of mortals. One wearies of so many gemlike flames, and one longs for a restful moment during which some primrose would be content to remain nothing more than a humble herb.

"Wolf Solent" is neither hackneyed nor, despite its almost interminable length, dull. It is full of fancy and it sustains with remarkable consistency the odd, rather dreamy mood which it establishes. But that mood is not important enough to serve for a tale of epic length. Fancy furnishes the entertainment of a moment not the philosophy of a lifetime, and "Wolf Solent" remains essentially fanciful, even when it mistakes that fancy for a deep imaginative insight.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

America in the Philippines

The Philippine Islands. By W. Cameron Forbes. Two volumes. Houghton Mifflin Company. $10.

IN these two important volumes Mr. Forbes joins the number of distinguished colonial administrators such as Lord Cromer and Lord Lugard who have demonstrated their capacity not only for governing but for scholarship. Assisted by Dr. Frank Carpenter, Mr. Forbes has made exhaustive use of documents as well as of a detailed diary which he kept during his nine years of service in the islands. The result is probably the most valuable account of the American occupation of the Philippines that has yet appeared.

The author first describes the geography and early history of the islands. He explains in some detail the unfortunate Aguinaldo incident in which Consul Pratt was declared to have promised Aguinaldo immediate independence. He is critical of some of the policies of Governor Taft, notably the artificial creation of the Federal Party, which asked the admission of the Philippines as a State in the American Union. Governor Taft limited his appointments to members of this unpopular party which subsequently disappeared.

Chapters describe such subjects as the system of public order, finance, justice, and health, public works, education, prisons, the government of the Moslem tribes, and church and state. A miscellaneous chapter includes a valuable discussion of the labor situation and the attempts to do away with peonage. The book gives a full account of the Philippine political parties and sets forth the problem of holding honest elections; apparently the record has continuously improved. Mr. Forbes is critical of President Wilson's appointment as governor of Congressman F. B. Harrison, a member of Tammany Hall without previous experience in the islands. Yet he is more tolerant than most critics of Democratic policy in the Philippines because he admits that during the Harrison regime steady progress was made in many lines.

While conservative in his point of view, the author explodes several arguments used against independence for the Filipinos. Thus he states that the "people are all reasonably similar in type" and "are imbued throughout with a great pride in their race . . . which should make them capable, under a common language, of being welded into a united and thoroughly cohesive body politic." He also pays tribute to the qualities of certain Filipino leaders, such as Osmeña. While he does not believe in complete independence, he apparently favors the creation of a "supervised commonwealth, under American sovereignty, which would reserve to the United States the power stated by President Coolidge as necessary if America is to assume the responsibility, and yet would grant the Filipinos management of their domestic affairs. . . ." A reserved power of intervention should be intrusted to a high commissioner, who should be assisted by an American auditor.

Invaluable as these two volumes are, they contain a number of defects. It is difficult for the reader to obtain a clear idea from Mr. Forbes's account of just what positions are still occupied by Americans and what positions have been transferred to Filipinos. Until the actual extent of Filipino participation in the present administration is realized, it is impossible to form an opinion of what the next step should be. Some of the chapters are, moreover, so stuffed with detail that it is difficult to get a view of the whole. Perhaps the weakest part of the volumes is that relating to economic policy. One would have liked to see a more detailed discussion of the land question; a more profound understanding of the relation of land to nationality. The author describes how trade between the Philippines and the United States has developed, and he dwells

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon our generosity in according the Philippines free trade. But it apparently does not occur to him that while the natural market of the Philippines should be Japan and China, the development of that market is now obstructed by the American tariff. When a body as official as the Tariff Commission of the United States sets forth the closed door in the Philippines, in contrast to the open-door policy followed in the mandates and most British colonies, one would expect that this aspect of the question would at least be mentioned.

In a number of instances Mr. Forbes attempts to compare American policy in the Philippines with the colonial policies of other Powers, usually to our advantage. In this he reveals a rather meager knowledge of foreign colonial systems and sometimes his comparisons are naively inconsistent. Thus he condemns the importation of Indian laborers into British Jamaica and in another passage defends the importation of Filipinos into Hawaii! The restriction of Filipino contract labor in Hawaii, he solemnly declares, "would be an unwarranted infringement of the independence of the individual Filipino to go where he pleased and earn what he could." The test which Mr. Forbes adopts of a successful colonial administration—a test which he reiterates on the last page of his volumes—is the extent to which postal receipts and deposits in savings banks have increased. This test is a characterization of the work as a whole and an indication of its limitations.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

The Enigma of Freedom

Freedom in the Modern World. Edited by Horace M. Kallen. Coward-McCann. $2.50.

Liberty in the Modern World. By George Bryan Logan, Jr. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

IT has been one of the noteworthy circumstances of the evolution of Anglo-Saxon freedom that its great victories have been effected with little reference to abstract intellectual ideas. The patient and plodding Englishman of fable attacked each obstacle to freedom as it arose, and garnered his liberties one by one, such as they were. He treated the great problems of human freedom as he did the private controversies of his common law which required the embarrassing formulation of general principles only indirectly, and as a disagreeable necessity. Even after the advent of democracy he did not take to the eloquence and rhetoric and theorizing which has been the rule in France since the first great Revolution. The attempts at that sort of thing were significantly without immediate effect: Milton thundered in his hour in the "Areopagitica" but licensed printing remained, and John Stuart Mill pleaded for the "self-regarding" vices without raising the general levels of political virtue. The American manner of dealing with freedom did not come to differ essentially from the English. There naturally was a great deal of talk of inalienable rights in the revolutionary period but the American Revolution did not really involve any truly fundamental changes, and soon the Bill of Rights was accepted as the embodiment of everything that was excellent. The Bill of Rights, of course, was monumental but for that very reason it led to endless legal commentary upon its specific provisions tending in the end to its mummification. This form of legalism has been the ultimate sum and substance of American speculation as to freedom. It implied simply a repetition of phrases. It might have been expected that after the World War which was the greatest shock American liberty had yet received, the American examination of liberty would take on greater breadth and scope. But the first effect was simply to multiply the legal case history.

In the publication of the present two books we have examples of that more fundamental and extensive research into the whole nature and purpose of human freedom which is both the evidence and hope of its crises. They are both books which no one who has pondered on the enigmas of human freedom can be without. "Freedom in the Modern World" is the book form of a series of lectures delivered under the guidance of Professor Kallen at the New School for Social Research by Walton H. Hamilton, John A. Ryan, F. J. Foakes-Jackson, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Clarence Darrow, Silas Bent, Max Eastman, Robert Morss Lovett, Joseph Jastrow, John Dewey, and Kallen himself, who contributes two of the most searching of the twelve lectures. As the names of the contributors would suggest, here is an effort to consider liberty in all its various interrelationships bringing to bear economics, law, religion, art, psychology, philosophy, sociology. The symposium, which is peculiarly suitable to the complexity of the problems of modern life, was certainly necessary here. "Liberty in the Modern World" is the posthumous work of George Bryan Logan, Jr., who died in 1927 holding the quiet post of librarian in the University of North Carolina but only after he had adventured as a fighter in the war which was to make the world safe for liberty. He, too, attempts to see the problem of freedom in its various guises but with the main emphasis upon its evolution in human history, and he certainly belongs with the distinguished company Professor Kallen has assembled.

In grappling with so difficult an enigma as freedom it is particularly valuable to have such a variety of men and so many points of view. The new way of regarding the problem of freedom as the whole problem of human existence emerges all the more clearly for its expression in the same pages with the older ways. The modern will find, perhaps, the statement of the Catholic view of freedom by Father Ryan in the form of a series of self-evident propositions most amazing. The contribution of Clarence Darrow is valuable if for no other reason than that it makes clear the inadequacy of homely reflections, however much imbued with earnestness. From Professor Chafee who is a jurist but who significantly is the jurist who wrote the best and most socially minded legal analysis of freedom as it relates to speech now comes an exposition of the interesting idea that all the fine talk of constitutional rights is practically of no importance when there is no efficient legal machinery for their enforcement, and that we had better pay more attention to devising this machinery than dilating upon the rights. The old puzzle of the freedom of the will crops up again in the essays of Professors Dewey, Jastrow, and Kallen (in the role of philosopher) but revivified in the light of modern psychology and biological science and finally brilliantly, if empirically, affirmed.

Yet, it is only liberty upon the changing stage of human history that the darkened gaze of man may see with clarity. Its metaphysics may be more alluring, but it is treacherous. The measure of our confusion is that the ultimate reality of liberty is one that must be assumed. We will do better to listen to the eloquent pleas of such men as Professors Hamilton and Kallen and George Bryan Logan, Jr., who dwell upon the history of liberty and plumb the origins of our libertarian ideas to the end that we may be able to reexamine them in the light of our own vastly more complicated necessities, and be free to reconstruct our own great society. In their probing essays lie the hints of programs for the future. We must not be bewitched by slogans and deceived by phrases, however fine: there is no intrinsic virtue in laissez-faire, or inalienable rights; they may not be good for us. We need untrammeled sages to give us the answer in the light of all the social sciences. It is not, indeed, that the plodding, narrowly empirical habit of our fabled Englishman was fundamentally wrong. But it must be transformed in a larger and more exact com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prehension of human destiny coming closer to the possibilities of modern science. In this transformation lies its novelty. Liberty, or freedom, in the modern world is after all misleading. The problem remains constant, only its elements change. But we must always be ready to decide how far, how quickly, and under whose hands the pendulum between society and the individual shall swing. There are dangers without doubt in the collective purpose which we conjure up when we shudder at the state, but we shall always have to take risks and the times plead for the sociologies as against the ideologies of human freedom.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

News from Russia

Impressions of Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World. By John Dewey. The New Republic. $1.

The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities Under the Soviets. By Avrahm Yarmolinsky. Vanguard Press. $.50.

Liberty Under the Soviets. By Roger N. Baldwin. Vanguard Press. $.50.

IN John Dewey's visit to Soviet Russia last summer he somehow grasped certain essentials that many of the most ardent of the statistics gatherers have missed. He seems, to be sure, somewhat bewildered in his efforts to reconcile his preconceived ideas of what the Revolution was all about with what he actually found, and somewhat contradictory in disclaiming in one place the significance of the economic and industrial changes, and later on attributing the whole success of the widespread application of new educational ideas to "the fact that they could give to the economic and industrial phase of social life the central place it actually occupies in present life." But Russia itself is more bewildering and contradictory than any place on earth. And when he leaves theoretical realms and writes of what he saw, Professor Dewey himself seems to have imbibed some of that "vitality and courage and confidence in life" which he everywhere found, so delightedly and heartily does he express himself. "The people," he says, "go about as if some mighty and oppressive load had been removed, as if they were newly awakened to the consciousness of released energies."

Professor Dewey naturally writes most confidently, and hence most convincingly, from the angle of educational endeavor. He was deeply impressed by a visit to a childrens' colony, where he found a larger proportion of "intelligent, happy, and intelligently occupied children" than he had ever seen anywhere in the world. He found his contacts with Russian teachers and students one of the most stimulating experiences of his life. Nowhere have I read a more enlightening description of the meaning of the new education, of the way in which the schools of Russia have actually become a part of life, or a more sympathetic discussion of the use of propaganda, which John Dewey found to be expressed by "what is done for the mass in freeing their life, in giving them a sense of security . . . in opening to them access to recreation, leisure, new enjoyments, and new cultivations of all sorts," rather than by induction into Marxian doctrine, although he found plenty of that too. A number of spirited illustrations from Russian textbooks greatly enliven the little volume, which also contains brief papers on Mexico, Turkey, and China.

Mr. Yarmolinsky has written a scholarly little volume cautiously appraising the gains and losses of Russian Jewry under the new regime. Against the somber background of the centuries of oppression he depicts their painful march toward the "freedom not only as individuals, but as a group having the potentialities of nationhood" which the Soviet government has given them. While one of the first acts of the Soviet government was a sweeping abolition of all discriminatory laws, the merchants and small traders so numerous among the Jews naturally found it hard to adapt themselves to a system based on state industry, state commerce, and cooperatives. On the other hand, Jewish artisans have been increasingly encouraged by the Soviets, and a growing number of Jews have been entering government and factory work. Most hopeful of all the means of economic rehabilitation, in Mr. Yarmolinsky's opinion, is the land movement, which is offering a livelihood to thousands of Jews, only 10 per cent of whom fail to persevere, once established as farmers. When this movement results in a Jewish majority on a sufficiently extensive stretch of territory, the formation of a Jewish republic will be in order. Meanwhile, in line with the Soviet policy of safeguarding the rights of minorities, the Jews have their own soviets, where practically all transactions are in Yiddish, they have their own schools in their own language, their own theaters, and out of the richness of their ancient culture and their new freedom a vital literary movement is developing. The four last chapters are devoted to a brief but comprehensive survey of the economic and cultural awakening of the other national minorities.

Although, as Mr. Baldwin says, over half of his book is devoted to a description of the controls by the Soviet state, he has chosen to call it "Liberty Under the Soviets" because he sees "as far more significant the basic economic freedom of workers and peasants, and the abolition of privileged classes based on wealth. . . ." The first section is accordingly devoted to the constructive achievements of the Revolution—the workers' share in the control of industry, the degree of democracy enjoyed by the overwhelming mass of the population, the vigor of educational experimentation, the new freedom of women, and so on. The latter part deals with the political control by means of which the proletarian dictatorship is maintained—the censorship, the prohibition of opposition parties, the political police; political executions, exile, and imprisonment. It is not a pretty picture. But distasteful as these things are to Mr. Baldwin, he has made a real effort to interpret them in their true proportion to the events of the past and to hostile forces within and without. Mr. Baldwin has checked his information carefully from official sources, and points out the exaggerations in émigré reports.

JESSICA SMITH

A Southern Yankee

William Gregg: Factory Master of the Old South. By Broadus Mitchell. University of North Carolina Press. $3.

FROM 1812 until the Civil War the balance of American political power rested with the South. But during the same period there was being stored up in the cities of the North and on the free farms of the West a new economic force which was to struggle to upset that balance. Charles A. Beard has given a vivid picture of the Civil War in terms of a social and political revolution in which power was taken by the industrial-commercial North and the free-farming West from the slave agricultural South.

In the days when the South was riding on momentum straight for a fall, there were a few individuals who offered it a stay. One of these was William Gregg, a South Carolinian born in 1800. When dominant Southern thought still hankered for slave expansion into the West, Gregg argued for diversified enterprise and staked his talents on a textile factory in Graniteville, South Carolina. He was a protectionist, fought the notion of reopening the slave trade, and gathered about him a poor white laboring community to establish industry in the South.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He favored the development of machinery and motive power, the accumulation of capital for industrial purposes, and the creation of a good system of moral and religious education for workers, so that manufacturers might thrive. At Graniteville he ruled with an iron hand. He alternately frightened schoolchildren into obedient submission to factory-town rules and distributed to them free baskets of peaches. He opposed dancing and drinking on the ground that they interfered with production, and was horrified by Italian art.

This, then, was a new spirit in the South, totally devoid of any trace of the graceful planter culture which crowned, here and there, the doomed slave civilization. He had all the Yankee virtues, and must often have felt himself at a loss in the face of predominant Southern notions. His factory was a great success; his Idea was not to catch on for decades. Yet, heterodox though he was and prophetic of a new day, Gregg could not altogether hold out against the social tide which ran toward war. The successful manufacturer finally became a patriot in the interest fated to be stripped and subordinated by his true allies from the industrial North. After the war, the benevolent-despotic community which he left behind him produced the symbol of another war to come, a war the meaning of which Gregg would better have understood than that of the Secession. That symbol showed itself when an unusually brainy, one-legged worker murdered, "nobody knows why," Gregg's son, the factory superintendent. This is the interesting story which Professor Mitchell competently tells. If there be in the South a would-be historical novelist, he will find in William Gregg's life matter worthy of his best efforts.

HERBERT SOLOW

Editorializers

American Press Opinion: Washington to Coolidge, A Documentary Record of Editorial Leadership and Criticism, 1785-1927. By Allen Nevins. D. C. Heath and Company. $5.

FOUR hundred editorials, ranging from brief utterances in the years before the adoption of the Constitution to longer and more modern expressions of American newspaper thinking, comprise the subject-matter of this volume. Carefully chosen for their value to the age in which they were written, few if any of these selections are of passing interest only. They illuminate almost every phase of the intricate domestic and foreign concerns which have made our national development unique. On the one hand, they demonstrate that in every period of our life as a nation the same prejudices and virtues which distinguish the United States today have been alive and active. On the other hand, they demonstrate that what American leadership wills to do, the people can accomplish. Let cynics and doubters of democracy take note of this fact.

It would be futile to attempt a catalogue of the memorable editorials which fill the volume. Most of the leaders of American journalism—Cobbett, Niles, Dana, Greeley, Bowles, Bryant, Pulitzer, Godkin, and many more—come to life again through the magic of their words. The range of editorials quoted is remarkable, not only in its extensive subject matter, but also in the widespread geography of origin. For example, we leap from Lafcadio Hearn's musings in New Orleans to Harvey W. Scott's fine common sense in Portland, Oregon. There are the crisp utterances of William Allen White in the Emporia *Gazette* side by side with the analyses of Bowles in the *Springfield Republican.*

Mr. Nevins has performed a conspicuous accomplishment in his admirable annotations and introductions. These latter, one

Winner of the first prize in the $2500 Dutton-Methuen Detective Mystery Prize Contest

The INCONSISTENT VILLAINS
By N. A. Temple-Ellis

Scrawled in blood on the window pane, a strange symbol — the night after Hunt the pseudo-doctor was murdered. Then, one by one, they disappeared — Turnbull, truculent labor leader, Iris Creen, fabulously rich, wonderfully beautiful society girl, Colonel Winstanley, mysteriously hurled to death. What ruthless gang was at work? And why? And how? Unravel this thrilling tangle of mystery and adventure tonight! $2.00

WHEN FUR WAS KING
By Henry Jonn Moberly and Wm. Bleasdell Cameron

A first hand vivid account of life and times in Nothern Canada that have entirely disappeared. A survivor graphically describes the days when there were only trading posts, and Indians carried on incessant warfare. $2.75

DARK WEATHER
By Marguerite R. Baldwin

Where does sophistication end and decadence begin? Here is a new and untouched phase of the American scene — post-war youth of sixteen and seventeen in revolt against all laws and conventions . . . Hard-drinking, fast-living, quick-loving . . . Reckless, lawless, defying standards that didn't mean a thing . . . A book that will spellbind you, grip you, shock you with its portrait of a new side of small town American life. $2.50

E. P. DUTTON & CO., Inc.

Have you read

THE NEW SINCLAIR LEWIS?

A new Sinclair Lewis, everyone is saying—a Sinclair Lewis who retains his infallible eye, his old verve, his knife-edged satire—but with a new mellowness and sympathy . . . *a Sinclair Lewis who writes about a group of people he likes.*

Carl Van Doren says in *The Nation:* "The element in this book which lifts it above *Elmer Gantry* is the sympathetic insight with which, for the first time, Mr. Lewis follows the workings of a profound, unreasonable, desperate passion."

DODSWORTH

Harcourt, Brace and Company $2.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of which precedes each of the four periods into which he classifies his editorials, form an excellent brief history of American journalism. Taken with the great body of the book, they comprise a contribution to scholarship of the utmost usefulness.

DUANE SQUIRES

Books in Brief

The British Employment Exchange. By John Barton Seymour. Coward-McCann. $3.

For approximately $7,000,000 a year Great Britain operates 410 employment exchanges and 752 branch employment offices as part of a comprehensive scheme for the relief of unemployment. That is less than one-third the cost of a capital ship, but it seems to be too expensive a venture for the richest nation in the world. It is possible that a few books like Mr. Seymour's will jar us awake; his analysis of the British system supplies valuable ammunition for an American campaign for a federal system of employment exchanges. He tells how the British employment exchanges, unemployment-insurance laws, and poor-law regulations actually work. Indignantly rejecting the American description, "dole system," he points out that four-fifths of the British unemployment fund is contributed by the employers and workers. The book begins with a brief history of the employment exchange and ends with a chapter of excellent suggestions for expansion and improvement.

British Food Control. By Sir William H. Beveridge. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 17/6.

Out of his intimate personal knowledge and experience as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Food, and out of the abundant public records and private papers freely placed at his disposal, Sir William Beveridge has written an extraordinarily lucid, interesting, and valuable history of British food control during the war. He shows clearly the value and success of the Ministry in feeding the people during that period better than private enterprise could possibly have done, but gives good reasons for believing that public control would be a failure except in times of food shortage. And he does it all with a mastery of fact, a sureness of judgment, a command of the English language, and a sense of humor that make his book a joy to read. Lord Devonport's administration as Food Controller was "a scurrying hither and thither in chase of the unapprehended consequences of ill-considered actions." On another page our redoubtable President-elect appears, at the beginning of 1918, staggering under his burden of surplus pork products, and answering the frenzied demands of the Allied Prime Ministers for more wheat with "fairy-story figures of bacon" and an inquiry whether they could not all stop brewing. Sir William's book itself is the record "of one small aspect of the human spirit in its five years' prison, but here upon a treadmill that has ground no corn." Oh for a few more men who can write important scientific works in language like that!

A Picture of World Economic Conditions. National Industrial Conference Board. $2.

In pursuance of its function of assisting American industry by better knowledge of economic conditions and trends, the National Industrial Conference Board presents in this pamphlet a summary review of conditions in the principal countries of the world, based upon special information received from its foreign correspondents and upon other authoritative sources. For comparative purposes a brief summary of economic conditions in the United States has been added. Following those summaries are reprinted special reports from the Midland Bank, London, and from Messrs. Mendelssohn (Germany), Siegfried (France), Pirelli (Italy), Theunis and Franqui

IN response to the many inquiries regarding travel in Soviet Russia, Amtorg Trading Corporation announces that the following travel organizations in New York City are authorized by Intourist (The official travel bureau of the U.S.S.R.) to organize direct tours from New York to the Soviet union:

The Amalgamated Bank
Travel Department
11-15 Union Square
New York City

The Open Road, Inc.
20 West 43rd Street
New York City

World Tourists, Inc.
175 Fifth Avenue
New York City

These organizations are authorized to book passengers on steamers of the following lines:

Cunard Steamship Company
French Line
Holland American Line

If any other organizations should be appointed, the names will be published in due course of time.

AMTORG TRADING CORPORATION,
261 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

The MANAGEMENT of PINE LAKE PARK begs to announce—since its first Ad., "An Invitation to Nation Readers" 70 of the 78 dwellings at Pine Lake Park were leased.

The few which are still available will no doubt be taken up by the same Progressive element. First come First served will be applied to the rest.

For particulars refer to a previous issue of the "Nation" or write to

New Parkway Vistas, Inc.
Furnace Wood Road,
Peekskill, N. Y.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Belgium), Wallenberg and Rydbeck (Sweden), Thornton (Canada). Both the summaries and the reports will prove helpful to American business men who have not the opportunity of consulting more comprehensive reference books on world economic conditions.

The Two Cities. By Otto, Bishop of Freising. Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow. Columbia University Press. $10.

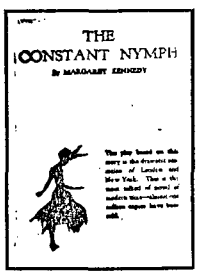
The "Chronica" of Otto of Freising appear her for the first time in a modern language. This is matter of some surprise to the editor and the translator; the latter finds that "Otto is universally praised by modern historians as the first to record the leading events of world history in a smooth and flowing style and at the same time to attempt to fit them into the eternal scheme." That, of course, would be a bit excessive if it were not ambiguous, but the "Chronica" are probably the most distinguished statement of the Christian-Augustinian philosophy of history since Augustine himself. They are, moreover, of considerable value for their narrative of contemporary events, for Otto's opportunities for collecting data, since he was brother of one emperor and uncle of another, were unusual. The "Chronica" cover the history of the world from the time of Adam to 1146 A. D.

Corrections

In the brief review of "The Mission of Greece" by R. W. Livingstone, on page 722 of the last issue of *The Nation,* the second sentence should have read: "The explanatory passages present a world strikingly similar to our own, and Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Lucian at least offer answers to questions which are being asked today."

The review of M. R. Werner's "Bryan" in the issue of May 22 contained the statement that this was the first biography of Bryan to appear. There was, however, an earlier biography, "Bryan, the Great Commoner" by J. C. Long, published by D. Appleton and Company.

□ PLAYS □ CINEMA □ CONFERENCE □



A GREAT *Novel* 1,000,000 Copies Sold
A Great Play On B'way for 6 Months
Now a Great Film!
THE CONSTANT NYMPH
BASIL DEAN'S ADAPTATION OF MARGARET KENNEDY'S FAMOUS NOVEL
FIRST SHOWING IN AMERICA
LITTLE CARNEGIE PLAYHOUSE
Circle 7551 146 W. 57th St. Cont. 2 to Midnight

GILBERT MILLER
(by arrangement with Maurice Browne)
presents
Journey's End
By R. C. Sheriff
HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE, 124 West 43rd Street
Eves. at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

"Still amuses with a kind of careless gaiety which no other revue has managed to capture."—Joseph Wood Krutch.
THE 1929 Grand Street Follies
WITH ALBERT CARROLL and DOROTHY SANDS
BOOTH THEA. W. 45 ST.—Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

You are invited to the June Conference of the
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
to be held at
Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa.
(near Stroudsburg)
Thursday, June 27 to Sunday, June 30, 1929
Subject: "A PROGRAM FOR MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT"
Speakers include Louis H. Pink, Carl D. Thompson, Louis Brownlow, William H. Allen, Stuart Chase, Norman Thomas, J. S. Potofsky, Joseph McGoldrick, James H. Maurer, B. Charney Vladeck, Percy R. Williams, Algernon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Kenneth M. Spence, Louis Waldman, Jessie W. Hughan, Alexander Fichandler, Louis Goldberg, McAlister Coleman, W. J. Van Essen, Clarence O. Senior, H. S. Raushenbush, Charles Solomon.
For further information write to H. W. Laidler,
League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

This Sat. and Sun., June 15-16
Special Week-End Program!
Emil JANNINGS
in
"THE LAST LAUGH"
—and on the same program—
the startling and brilliant cinema of the psychological reactions of a drowning man
"THE LAST MOMENT"
Added Attraction! Another edition of the hilarious GRAVEYARD EPITAPHS.
"one of the few screen efforts that one can watch several times and always find interesting."
—New York Times.
—and continuing the Jannings Repertoire—
Mon., Tues., June 17-18 } TARTUFFE THE HYPOCRITE
Wed., Thurs., June 19-20 } THE LAST COMMAND
Fri., June 21 } LOVES OF PHARAOH
FILM GUILD CINEMA
52 W. 8th St. [Just W. of 5th Ave.] Spring { 5095 / 5090
Continuous Daily—2 p. m. to midnite.
Now Playing! Thursday, June 13—"PASSION" with Jannings as Louis XIV and Pola Negri as Madame du Barry. Friday, June 14—"STREET OF SIN"—a stark drama of London slum life.
Direction: SYMON GOULD

MONEY FOR THEATRE TICKETS
Do you go to the theatre as often as you would like? You could easily. Many Nation readers are earning extra money for extra pleasures. Why not you? Write to
The Nation Department 11 20 Vesey Street New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

India Revisited

By SUDHINDRA BOSE

A NEW insurgent life is pulsating in India. Oriental mysticism is giving place to Occidental pragmatism. When our boat reached Bombay we were surrounded by a swarm of enterprising reporters. "What's your impression of India?" was the question persistently fired at me, who had returned to India after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century. "Tell us what you think of Indian women," they demanded of my companion who had never been in India before.

India has greatly changed, and in certain ways has become Americanized. In the past, newspapers, for example, were mostly opinion sheets. They had very little news, and extremely limited circulation. The Indian newspapers of today are set up by up-to-date linotype machines, and are served by well-organized news agencies and competent reporters. These papers fill an important place in the life of the country, and have a large circulation. The Indian journalistic world as a whole still follows the staid ideals of English journalism; but not a few of them have adopted lively American methods. There are today many more journals in India than ever before. They have gained new dignity and new status. Perhaps the most prominent among the Indian dailies is the *Forward* (Calcutta), the editor of which is regularly fined and imprisoned for making criticisms against the government. Many Indian journals have permanent funds set aside for the purpose of paying fines levied because of their "disaffectionate" utterances against English rulers. Press sedition laws, always stringent, are much more severe now than formerly.

But a prison sentence has become a mark of social and political prestige. The students of a college in my old home town in Bengal, for instance, were forbidden to attend a political meeting. In spite of the warning, they went to the meeting. And when the leaders were arrested, their fellow-students climbed in the police wagon and offered to be imprisoned en masse.

The attitude of the educated people toward political and social questions has undergone such a profound change in the past few years that it amounts almost to a revolution. I was a caste man when I left India and as I had crossed the "black waters" in infringement of caste rules, I expected to be regarded as an outcast. Instead, I was entertained at the homes of high-caste men. Not once was there any question about my caste. Even the priests allowed me to enter Hindu temples, a thing which could not have happened when I was a youngster in India. Caste laws and restrictions no longer dominate the Hindu social atmosphere. I know some foreign witnesses will not agree with me, but my observation is that the Indian today is more of a democrat than he was twenty-five years ago. Modern educational and especially economic forces have played havoc with "the peculiar institution" of India. It was a joy to me to find that the old orthodoxy is being slowly pulverized.

Another of the significant changes which have taken place in India during my absence is in the position of women. In most of the towns and cities numerous Hindu ladies (even Moslem ladies who had always lived behind purdah) are to be seen walking or going about openly in automobiles with their husbands and children. In villages, purdah practically does not exist. In our own family women formerly observed purdahs. They never appeared in the streets without a long veil or stepped into a carriage which was not closely shuttered. Now they go about freely. There is scarcely a social or political movement of any consequence in which Indian women are not represented. The Women's Indian Association has been largely instrumental in securing such civic and political rights as women enjoy. In many of the provinces women now have the vote for the provincial legislatures, and more recently secured the vote for the central or national legislature. The Madras provincial legislature has a woman member, and there are many women members of municipal councils.

I attended, by invitation, a public meeting of women to discuss social problems. Some of them spoke English and others vernacular. They registered their views strongly against some of the time-honored social customs and institutions and urged sweeping reforms. One of them demanded that there should be increased opportunities for education and that early marriage should be abolished by law.

It so happened that when I was in Calcutta last summer the street-sweepers of the city were on strike. The president of the sweepers' union, Miss Das Gupta, was arrested. No sooner was she locked up than women began to hold mass meetings and stage such demonstrations that the government was forced to back down. It was glad to let Miss Das Gupta out in a hurry and allow the strikers to settle their disputes on their own terms. Indian women are now a force to be reckoned with. The greatest drawback in the rapid advancement of Indian women is the lack of widespread education. The total number of women in all the schools and colleges of the country is just over a million. And of this number, 86 per cent stop with the primary school. Education within the last two decades has made but slight progress. It is, however, a remarkable feature of recent times that a good many Indian women have won high distinction at universities, and not a few of them have qualified as doctors, lawyers, and college professors. What most Indian leaders demand is the immediate adoption of a program of compulsory education for women as well as men. They believe, as the president of the All-India Women's Social Conference put it, "that unless the woman can fight the battle of life side by side with man, it will never be won."

There are now many social-service centers in India, started within the last decade. At present the various provincial social-service leagues are linked up into a well-organized All-India League. The social-service leagues offer relief to the victims of famines, floods, and epidemics. Maternity and child-welfare work receive much of their attention. There are night schools for boys and girls, they have established cooperative stores and societies, and are carrying on educational campaigns to remove some of the hard conditions in which the "depressed classes" find themselves. Moreover, their programs furnish a common platform where men and women of all shades of religious and political ideas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can meet and cooperate. According to many cautious observers, the activities of the social-service movement are laying the real foundations of a true self-government.

Many Indian leaders of the old days who were once thought radical are in the discard. Their programs are now considered out of date. More daring leaders have come to the front, wielding enormous influence with the masses. They are changing the face of India. And of all the public men I have encountered in India, Mahatma Gandhi stands supreme. He has done more to quicken national consciousness than I thought would be possible in my generation. In less than a decade, he has brought India forward a hundred years. Men have gained from him a new will for freedom. Formerly few people talked of Indian independence outright, and there were many to whom even the thought of separation from England was absurd. Mr. Gandhi has changed all that. What was once only whispered, is now being proclaimed in trumpet tones. He has taught people to look upon English rule as a legalized slavery. He has made the cause of Indian independence respectable, and even popular.

A visitor from the West cannot be in India long without noticing how it is becoming industrialized. The middle classes have developed a taste for business. Money is no longer hoarded away in iron safes, but put into industrial ventures. Though not as yet very flourishing, a lusty industrial system is growing up.

Politics in India overshadows all other questions. In the past men have been patient as sheep; now they are grappling with their political problems with courage and audacity that leave the old-timers gasping. "We must summon courage to challenge the old order of things," a member of the Swarajya Party told me. "We must strive to achieve new ideals. What is wanted today is a radical, revolutionary mentality that will not tolerate chains in any form. We cannot be content to crawl on our way. 'Gradualness' is a hypocritical formula. Ours is a race with time, and we must take long strides."

There is in India a new sense of suspicion and distrust of its alien rulers. Their professed concern for India's welfare and prosperity is regarded as only lip-deep. Indian people have of course no difficulty in finding support for their conviction that the English are in India primarily for purposes of selfish exploitation, and not for psalm-singing altruism. They frequently quote this statement, made not long ago, by the British Home Secretary, Right Honorable Sir William Joynson-Hicks:

> We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the benefit of the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire goods in particular.

There was a time when Nationalists were a negligible quantity, and the doctrine of nationalism was confined to only a few, but nationalism is swiftly permeating the masses. It appeared to me as if everybody in India is a nationalist of some sort. He speaks of the wrongs he is suffering at the hands of England. And with the growth of Indian nationalism, English prestige, which has been the bulwark of English rule in that country, has gone to pieces.

See pages 750, iii and iv

Contributors to This Issue

HENRY HALL is the pseudonym of an officer of a New York bank.

JULIUS HOLZBERG is a Cincinnati lawyer who has spent some time in Russia.

JULIA N. BUDLONG is a resident of Los Angeles who has written several articles for *The Nation.*

VIRGINIA MOORE is the author of a book of poems, "Sweet Water and Bitter."

RIDGELY TORRENCE is a poet and author of several plays for a Negro theater.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is dramatic editor of *The Nation.*

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL is the author of "The Native Problem in Africa."

WILLIAM SEAGLE is on the staff of the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences and is coauthor with Morris Ernst of "To the Pure . . ."

JESSICA SMITH, author of "Women in Soviet Russia," spent five years in Russia.

HERBERT SOLOW is on the staff of the *Menorah Journal.*

DUANE SQUIRES is professor of history at the State Teachers College, Mayville, North Dakota.

SUDHINDRA BOSE is a member of the department of political science at the State University of Iowa.

TOURS from $385

July Sailings to

SOVIET RUSSIA

July 5—S. S. "Veendam"
July 10—S. S. "Tuscania"
July 16—S. S. "Berengaria"

Register now for a tour full of fun —interest—novelty—unforgettable! Stop-overs at European Capitals.

Ten full days in

LENINGRAD & MOSCOW

Write for Booklet D—a detailed itinerary

WORLD TOURISTS, Inc.

175 5th Ave., New York. Tel. Algonquin 6656
Chicago office—308 W. Washington St., R. K. Zetland, Mgr.

Employers for intelligent employees

advertise in The Nation. You reach fewer readers than through a large newspaper, but those you reach are worth while. And your advertisement in The NATION is READ.

Rates, minimum half inch (30 words) $3.08. Additional lines of 6 words, 62 cents each.

Send advertising with remittance to

THE NATION ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
20 Vesey Street, N. Y. or Phone Fitzroy 9074.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER

Spend Your Vacation on the shores of the Queen of Mountain Lakes

WUNNISHAUNTA

Camp for Young Men & Women

ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE

Superb location at "America's first summer resort." All the most desirable camp features. The Wunnishaunta Booklet, sent free, includes pictures of camp activities, auto routes, train and airplane information.

MRS. SADIE BRICKMAN, *Hostess*

WOLFEBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE

In the Heart of the Adirondacks

TIMBERLAND

Pottersville New York

Where Congenial Folk Gather

Accommodations in Bungalows—modern in every respect.

Excellent Sport Facilities.

TENNIS — HANDBALL—GOLF—SADDLE HORSES — WATER SPORTS—SOCIAL ACTIVITIES and DANCING

Special June Rate

Directors	*N. Y. Office*
ESTHER R. KESSLER	33 WEST 42ND ST.
MORRIS HARKAVY	PENNSYLVANIA 7663

Booklet on request

SCOPUS

An Adult Camp of Distinction

IN THE ADIRONDACKS

P. O. LAKE GEORGE, N. Y.

City Address

111 WEST 42nd STREET

Longacre 3411

SPECIAL JULY 4th WEEK-END—including boat ride, 4 days in camp, and return. Gala surprises. Special rate. Write for data. All plans made for you.

IDEAL OF SMALL CAMPS — *5 MILES ABOVE LAKE GEORGE*

ECHO LAKE TAVERN

A Camp for Adults in the ADIRONDACKS

WARRENSBURG N. Y.

A Glorious Vacation

The Camp for REAL Campers—Every Modern Facility for Comforts & Sport

JUNE RATE $25 per wk.

N. Y. Telephone PENnsylvania 8313

R. B. NUDELL

A. B. SILVER

BAILIN'S MAPLEDALE HOTEL

"The Hotel with the camp spirit"

Roscoe, N. Y. (Sullivan County)

Phone Roscoe 3-Y-2

All modern conveniences, set in a circle of majestic peaks, against a background of shimmering greens, bordering Beaverkill River. *All camp activities. Liberal atmosphere. Excellent Jewish meals.*

Rates from $25 up. Special rates for June.

Management I. B. Bailin, formerly Editor, *The Friend*. For particulars and booklet, address 570 Seventh Ave., Room 1002. N. Y. C. Phone Penn. 1777.

PIONEER LODGE

A Summer Camp for Adults

Near Thousand Islands

Limited to Seventy-five . . Has all conveniences in Lodge and Bungalows . . All Sports . . Boating on Large Lake . . Golf Within Fifteen minutes' Walk . . Rate $30 per Week.

Accessible over night by N. Y. Central.

STAR LAKE, N. Y.	N. Y. CITY OFFICE
ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY	977 FOX STREET
	DAYTON 8572

A new retreat for a few campers

Robin Hood Lodge

on beautiful Echo Lake—in the Adirondacks—near Lake George.

Capacity—25

All camp activities

Rates: June, $25; July and August, $30

Address

JEAN FOX ROBIN HOOD LODGE

Tel. War. 106 F-2 Warrensburg, N. Y.

INDIAN HEAD

on Echo Lake, Warrensburg, N. Y.

AN IDEAL CAMP FOR ADULTS

Swimming		Baseball
Fishing		Tennis
Canoeing		Basketball
Rowing		Handball
Dancing		Horseback

Only five miles from Lake George. All facilities for sport and social recreation. Special June Rates $25.00 per week, which includes free transportation from Albany to Camp. Write or phone for information concerning arrangements for transportation.

Booklet on Request

New York Address: 885 Brook Ave., Bronx, N. Y. Tel. Melrose 1821

Camp Address: Warrensburg, N. Y. Tel. Warrensburg 136

Trout Lake Camp

The Paradise of the Adirondacks

FOR ADULTS

A perfect place for honeymooners. The finest Hungarian cuisine. All activities. 5 clay tennis courts.

Send for descriptive booklet.

CITY OFFICE	P. O. ADDRESS
489 Fifth Ave.	Lake George, N. Y.
Room 409	Tel. Bolton 96
Tel. Vanderbilt 4197	

SECLUDED Country Resort—Conducive to enjoyable relaxation; wholesome table; tennis; 1½ hours from Grand Central; $25 weekly. HILBERT HOUSE, Lake Mahopac, N. Y. Hill Friedberg, Prop. Tel. Mahopac 15-J.

BOARDERS—Healthiest place—Sullivan County, 110 miles from N. Y. C. Bathing. horseback riding, hiking. All improvements. Rate $16. German cooking. Peter's Tourist Rest, Livingston Manor, New York. Tel. Livingston Manor 43 F 5.

WORKERS and Radicals — join Golden's Bridge Colony. A cooperative community, situated at the foot of the Berkshire mountains, 44 miles from New York, 7 minutes walk from N. Y. Central Station. Ideal for commuting, and as a summer place. For information, apply to M. Millstein, Secy., 698 Melrose Ave., N. Y. Telephone Melrose 6635.

VACATIONS ABROAD

SOCIAL *and* EDUCATIONAL HOLIDAYS. EXPERT LEADERSHIP.

Britain and Europe. Guest Houses in the Best Scenery.

HOLIDAY FELLOWSHIP, Ltd.
Highfield, Golder's Green Road,
London, N. W. 11

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED